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PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

EDITED BY

MILO M. QUAIFE

SUPERINTENDENT OF THE SOCIETY

WISCONSIN HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

COLLECTIONS, VOLUME XXIII

DRAPER SERIES, VOLUME IV

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Lach.n McIntosh

From Portrait in C. C. Jones, *History of Georgia*

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF WISCONSIN

COLLECTIONS, VOLUME XXIII
DRAPER SERIES, VOLUME IV

FRONTIER ADVANCE

ON THE

UPPER OHIO

1778-1779

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY
LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG
WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
MADISON, 1916

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PREFACE

Eleven years ago, with the generous assistance of the Wisconsin Society, Sons of the American Revolution, was begun the publication of a series of volumes of source material pertaining to the Revolution in the West drawn chiefly from the Draper Collection of manuscripts. Thus far three volumes have appeared in this series under the joint editorship of Reuben G. Thwaites and Louise P. Kellogg. The first of these deals with the *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774;* the second is entitled *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775–1777;* and the third, *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777–1778.* Each volume deals with a distinct phase of the war in the West, and the publication of the series is believed to have assisted materially in the correct understanding by students of this important part of our Revolutionary struggle. Originally contemplating the financing of a single volume, the Wisconsin Society, Sons of the American Revolution, continued to pay for a second volume and then a third. Because of the circumstances of their publication the volumes were issued with binding and typography distinct from the regular volumes of the Historical Society's *Collections.* Since the Historical Society now assumes entire responsibility for the continuation of the series it seems appropriate that the volumes comprising it should henceforth be incorporated with the regular *Collections* of the Society. Appropriate, too, is it formally to label the series henceforth in honor of the Society's first secretary and great collector, since the contents of the volumes are drawn chiefly from the manuscripts in the Draper Collection. Although definite announcement at this time would be premature, it is expected that before its termination the series will include a considerable number of volumes additional to those already issued; and the preparation of one of these is already far advanced.

In editing the documents the source and character of each has been indicated by means of pressmark and abbreviations.

In the case of documents from the Draper Collection the pressmark indicates the particular series, volume, and page (or pages) where the original may be found. Thus, the pressmark of the first document in the volume, 2ZZ45, means Virginia series, volume II, page 45. The character of the document is indicated by the customary abbreviations, A. L., autograph letter unsigned, A. L. S., autograph letter signed, L. S., letter signed (this being in another's handwriting), and D. S., document signed; finally, the word "transcript" used in connection with documents from the Morgan Letter Books, indicates that the present printing is from a copy of the original furnished the editor for this purpose.

For courtesies received and assistance rendered the Society is indebted to Dr. Herbert Putnam, librarian of Congress; to Dr. Gaillard Hunt, chief of the manuscripts division, and John Fitzpatrick, assistant in the manuscripts division of the same library; and to Prof. Clarence W. Alvord, editor of the *Illinois Historical Collections*. The work of collating the transcriptions of the documents and of seeing the volume through the press has been chiefly borne by Lydia M. Brauer, editorial assistant, and Annie A. Nunns, assistant Superintendent, of the Society's staff.

MILO M. QUAIFE

Historical Introduction

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HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

The period of time covered by the documents included in this volume is brief. It extends only from May, 1778 to July, 1779, but within these fifteen months occurred the most momentous events of the Revolution in the West, fraught with important consequences, not only for the western frontier but for the success of the war and for the future of the American people. Then it was decided that the territory beyond the mountains was to be permanently occupied, and that the combined efforts of British, Indians, and Loyalists were insufficient to displace the American pioneer from his foothold in the Mississippi Valley.

Not only was the frontier maintained intact during this period, but it was strengthened in numbers and enlarged in extent. Existing gaps were filled and the outlying settlement of Kentucky was compacted for defense. At the same time important offensive movements into the territory beyond the Ohio checked the progress of the British and inclined their fickle Indian allies either to an American alliance or to an attitude of quiescent neutrality. Within this period the British lost the Illinois settlements and Vincennes, saw the Indian territory penetrated by the Americans as far as the Tuscarawas, felt the effects of two new American posts, McIntosh and Laurens, and faced the danger of the entire disaffection of all the Western tribesmen.

This change in the equilibrium of forces on the western frontier was due in large measure to the activity of the Virginians in Kentucky and their advance thence against the British posts of the region beyond the Ohio. On the Pittsburgh frontier, however, this movement was supported by a body of Continental regulars under officers of Washington's choosing, which by turning the right flank of the Ohio wilderness and building permanent fortifications in the Indian territory contributed materially to the confusion of the Indians and the protection of the frontier settlements.

The news of the French alliance, which reached Pittsburgh on May 26, 1778,[1] heartened the defenders of the frontier, and gave them hope of relief from hostile attacks. The little clusters of French-Canadian settlers scattered throughout the Indian country and the French-Canadian traders and half-breeds in the Indian villages had unbounded influence over the red men, and the news that their French "father" was giving aid and comfort to the American colonists tended to check the inimical propensities of our fiercest enemies. That this influence was not more effective, however, was due to the counteracting efforts of the American Loyalists whom General Hand had allowed to escape from Pittsburgh in the spring of 1778, and who had established themselves in the more important villages of the Ohio tribesmen.[2] Had Hand been as vigilant in preventing the departure of Alexander McKee, Matthew Elliott, and the Girtys as were the Marylanders in 1775 in securing Dr. John Connolly,[3] the Indian raids upon the frontier would have been fewer in number and less efficiently organized than they subsequently became.

This mistake of Hand led to his recall. He was an able officer and with better means might have accomplished more on the Fort Pitt frontier, but he had a mere handful of regular troops, and was forced to depend upon militia for garrisoning all his posts. The western situation brightened when Congress determined to transfer two full regiments of seasoned regulars to Fort Pitt and requested Washington to choose one of his best officers to command them. General Hand had been appointed to the western command because of his familiarity with the region and his popularity among its inhabitants. These seeming advantages, however, had militated against his success since they had drawn him into the Pennsylvania-Virginia boundary dispute on the side of the former state, and had made him too lenient in dealing with his old neighbors. In appointing a new commandant, therefore, Washington sought for one who was alien to the disputes and prejudices of the Fort Pitt border, and chose a Scotch Highlander from Georgia, who had passed a portion of the winter of 1777–78 in camp at Valley Forge.

Lachlan McIntosh was born in the Highlands, but as a boy had emigrated with his father to the southernmost American

[1] R. G. Thwaites and Louise P. Kellogg, *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio* (Madison, 1912), 299.
[2] *Ibid.*, 249–57.
[3] R. G. Thwaites and Louise P. Kellogg, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio* (Madison, 1908), 136–42.

colony, and had there lived in contact with Indians and had become conversant with their characteristics. His stern sense of duty and his strict ideas of discipline seemed to Washington the qualities needed in a frontier commander, while his rank as brigadier-general permitted Washington to associate with him two of his most trusted colonels, who commanded the regiments that were assigned to the West. Accordingly, on May 12, 1778, Washington wrote to Congress: "After much consideration upon the subject, I have appointed General McIntosh to command at Fort Pitt, and in the western country, for which he will set out as soon as he can accommodate his affairs. I part with this gentleman with much reluctance, as I esteem him an officer of great worth and merit, and as I know his services here are and will be materially wanted. His firm disposition and equal justice, his assiduity and good understanding added to his being a stranger to all parties in that quarter, pointed him out as a proper person; and I trust extensive advantages will be derived from his command, which I could wish was more agreeable."[1] Col. Daniel Brodhead, who commanded the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, which Congress had ordered to the West, was a vigorous and enterprising officer. Col. William Russell, who headed the Thirteenth Virginia, a portion of which was already at Fort Pitt, was relieved and assigned to the Sixth Virginia in order that its colonel, John Gibson, might accompany McIntosh to the frontier, where his long career as an Indian trader and his familiarity with Indian languages were deemed essential to the conduct of the new campaign.[2]

Before these arrangements became effective, however, Indian raids were so frequent and formidable that it seemed doubtful whether the American position could be held until reënforcements arrived. Virginia was the first to feel the onslaught of the enemy. In May, 1778 a force of savages suddenly appeared at Fort Randolph where the Shawnee Chief, Cornstalk, had been treacherously slain the previous autumn.[3] In the absence of Capt. Matthew Arbuckle the garrison was in charge of Capt. William McKee, who was wary enough to remain within the protecting palisades and allow the enemy to wreak their baffled vengeance upon the cattle and horses without the post. After some fruitless

[1] Jared Sparks, *Life and Writings of George Washington* (Boston, 1855), V, 361.
[2] See *post*, 61.
[3] *Frontier Defense*, 157–63.

efforts at negotiation the horde of painted warriors moved off, but the commandant found to his dismay that instead of recrossing the river to their towns they were advancing up the Kanawha towards the unsuspecting and defenseless interior settlements. He immediately sent out two soldiers to give the needed warning, who, finding it impossible to pass beyond the warriors unobserved, returned two days later to the fort.

Thus valuable time was lost, and the exposed frontiersmen were still unwarned of the approaching foe. McKee then called for volunteers to undertake the dangerous journey, and John Pryor and Philip Hammond responded. By the good offices of Cornstalk's sister, then residing at Fort Randolph, the scouts were painted and disguised as Indian warriors, and sent forth on their errand of mercy. The Indian army was advancing leisurely, hunting and feasting as it progressed, certain of surprising the Greenbrier settlements and taking many prisoners and scalps. At the great levels of the Kanawha (now Lewisburg), where four years earlier the whites had rendezvoused for Dunmore's War,[1] the two scouts slipped past the Indian host unperceived, and hastening to the house of Col. Andrew Donnally, the nearest settler, gave notice of its approach. The neighbors were speedily warned and gathered into Donnally's blockhouse, where twenty men, encumbered by sixty women and children, prepared for a desperate resistance.

The details of the siege and relief of Fort Donnally constitute one of the most thrilling episodes in the annals of border warfare. The first attack occurred at dawn on May 29, when an assault with tomahawks was made on the door of the fort. The sentries, of whom one was Dick Pointer, a negro slave, successfully defended the door until the remainder of the garrison was awakened and gathered to drive the enemy from the yard. Alternate attack and repulse followed, and throughout the long day the small force of the besieged was hotly pressed by the horde of savages, who attempted to burn the buildings and tried every stratagem to secure an entrance. Meanwhile, through the efforts of Col. Samuel Lewis and Col. John Stuart, relief was preparing. By three o'clock in the afternoon with a body of sixty men they approached the place of siege, accidentally escaped an ambuscade upon the main road and, dashing toward the fort from the rear, passed unharmed through the ranks of

[1] See R. G. Thwaites and Louise P. Kellogg, *Dunmore's War* (Madison, 1905), 181.

the besiegers and were joyfully welcomed by the hard-pressed garrison. The next day the Indian force withdrew. They had killed but four of the whites, while their own losses were estimated at more than quadruple that number.

This repulse was a notable victory for the whites and was celebrated as a second Point Pleasant. Some groups of the invading tribesmen, however, lingered within the range of the settlements, causing alarm and the calling out of several bodies of militia in their pursuit. Contrary to the belief of the frontier inhabitants that the invaders were Shawnee, the main body of the enemy was composed of Wyandot, supplemented by a force of Mingo.[1] These, with reënforcements of small parties, kept the southwestern portion of Virginia in continual alarm for over two months. The officers of the most exposed counties requested guards for their homes and families, while the people gathered into blockhouses, neglected their harvest, and talked of abandoning the settlements; by mid-July the panic was so great that the officers feared it could not be allayed. Some of the younger men proposed a retaliatory expedition across the Ohio to raid the Indian towns and force the return of the Indian parties, a project which secured the approbation of Gov. Patrick Henry. By September the plan was endorsed by most of the leading men of the southwestern frontier, and at a meeting called by Col. William Fleming at Botetourt Court House it was proposed to enroll 600 men, and to march for the Ohio via the Great Kanawha. But on October 2, the expedition was disallowed by the Executive Council of the state.[2] George Rogers Clark's success in the Illinois country and General McIntosh's preparations to advance from Fort Pitt had rendered a southwestern Virginia expedition unnecessary and untimely.

From this time forward the center of interest shifts from the Greenbrier frontier to that of the Monongahela and Youghiogheny, and the main stream of the Ohio just below Fort Pitt. There in the late summer of 1778 regulars and militia gathered for an invasion of the enemy's territory, and for the capture, if possible, of Detroit.

Detroit was the ultimate goal of the Americans during all the years of the Revolution in the West. It was rightly considered that the fall of this British post would end the Indian raids, restore tranquillity to the harassed border, and release many

[1] Report of Rev. David Zeisberger, *post*, 82.
[2] See *post*, 100, 134–37.

good riflemen for service in the eastern armies. During the first year of the Revolution it was hoped and expected that all of Canada would unite with the revolting colonists, and thus Detroit, as a part of the province of Quebec, would fall into the hands of the Americans. When this hope faded with the failure of the Canadian expedition of Montgomery and Arnold, several plans were proposed to Congress for the immediate capture of the western posts, and on April 23, 1776 that body passed a resolution that an expedition should be undertaken against Detroit.[1] Subsequent resolutions show that interest in the project was considerable, and that estimates of the expenses and men necessary to carry out the enterprise were being prepared. Its failure at this time appears to have been due to the lack of means and men, and to the strong opposition of the Indians to an army passing through their territory. Guyashusta, an Iroquois chief, announced at Fort Pitt, July 6, 1776, that his tribesmen would suffer neither a British nor an American army to be marched through their lands, and desired that no expedition against Detroit be undertaken.[2] Congress thereupon contented itself with plans for posts at Presqu'isle, Le Bœuf, and Kittanning, and for a fleet upon Lake Erie.[3] The consummation of the Indian treaty in September, 1776 removed for the time being any fear of an Indian invasion and the plans for fortifications and fleet were allowed to drop.[4]

During the summer of 1777 the frontier was too hard pressed and too ill garrisoned to permit consideration of an expedition against Detroit. Instead it was feared that an expedition from there might capture Fort Pitt.[5] Col. George Morgan endeavored to allay these fears; he stated that there were but sixty-six soldiers posted at Detroit, which was distant nearly 300 miles, and that an expedition thence must advance over trails impassable by artillery, which alone could batter down Fort Pitt.[6] In October, 1777 General Hand assured an eastern correspondent that "We here had nothing to apprehend from Detroit."[7]

[1] *Journals of Continental Congress* (Washington, 1905), IV, 301.
[2] *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 172.
[3] *Jour. of Cont. Cong.*, V, 542, 562; George Morgan's Letter Book, II, Fort Pitt Commissioners to Congress, Aug. 18, 1776.
[4] The post at Kittanning was built and occupied for a short time by a detachment of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment under Col. Aeneas Mackay. *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 200.
[5] *Frontier Defense*, 38.
[6] Morgan Letter Book, I.
[7] *Frontier Defense*, 128.

In the spring of 1778 the government made a determined effort to secure Detroit and thus put an end to the encouragement of Indian raids from that vicinity. Unaware of the steps being taken by Virginia to accomplish the same object under secret instructions to George Rogers Clark, the Board of War planned an expedition from Fort Pitt as recommended by the commissioners, who early in the spring had been sent to examine the disaffection on the frontier and to suggest means for its protection.[1] They proposed an offensive movement as affording the most effective defense, and on June 11 their report was adopted by Congress. Three thousand men were to be employed in this advance, supported by 2,500 Virginia militia. Over $900,000 was appropriated for expenses, and the chief command of all the forces was awarded to General McIntosh.[2] At the same time and by the same resolution a plan for the invasion of the Iroquois country and the occupation of Oswego was adopted.

This plan had the endorsement of those best posted on Indian concerns and conditions in the western country. Col. George Morgan, Indian agent for the Western Department, presented seven reasons in favor of such an expedition, and declared that there were scarcely 300 hostile Indians between Fort Pitt and Detroit.[3] The authorities of Virginia, however, disapproved of their part of the undertaking and represented to Congress the impossibility of furnishing the required contingent. The general treasury proved inadequate to meet the appropriation, and the commissary appointed reported that sufficient provisions for so large an invading army could not be secured during the ensuing summer. Thereupon, July 25, 1778, Congress rescinded the resolution for a campaign against Detroit and recommended that McIntosh should utilize his forces for an invasion of the Indian territory.[4]

The general arrived at Fort Pitt August 6, and made immediate arrangements for a forward movement by calling the Delaware Indians thither for a treaty. A knowledge of the relations between the Delawares and the Americans is essential to an understanding of the history of the Revolution on the western frontier. During the French and Indian War of all the Ohio tribes the Delawares had been the most hostile to the American

[1] *Ibid.*, 198, 228, 238.
[2] See *post*, 88.
[3] See *post*, 112–13.
[4] See *post*, 121.

settlers; and it was to subdue them and to chastise their ferocity in Pontiac's Conspiracy that Col. Henry Bouquet in 1764 marched an army to the Muskingum.[1] For over a decade the treaty made on this occasion with this powerful tribe was scrupulously kept; and to the nonparticipation of the Delawares in the struggle of 1774 the whites owed their victory at Point Pleasant and the subsequent submission at Camp Charlotte.[2]

The change in the attitude of the Delawares towards their frontier neighbors was due, in large measure, to the presence in their midst of a group of white missionaries of the Moravian church, who proved themselves loyal adherents to the colonial cause. These men, of German antecedents, first came to the Ohio frontier in 1768, and in the succeeding years gathered around them several villages of natives whom they instructed in the art of agriculture, and to whom they taught the gospel of peace. Several prominent Delaware chieftains renounced their office and their customary belligerency and became meek and humble Christians, while the head chiefs of the nation, although not openly professing Christianity, were profoundly influenced by the teachings of the missionaries.

First among these chiefs was White Eyes, who, faithful to the treaties of 1764, 1775, and 1776, sought by every means in his power to placate not only his own tribe but also the other trans-Ohio tribes, with whom his influence was very powerful. To the Moravian missionaries, especially to David Zeisberger and John Heckewelder, who kept the commandant at Pittsburgh informed of all that occurred within the Indian country, and who often at the risk of their lives sent messages that saved both forts and inhabitants from capture and massacre, the Americans owed a debt of gratitude that was never requited; while the barbarous frontiersmen instead of showing gratitude to their Indian allies wreaked a bloody vengeance on some who had been their most faithful friends.

The fate of the noble chief, White Eyes, was kept secret for many years. While on his way to join McIntosh, after the Treaty of Pittsburgh in 1778, wherein he exerted himself to the utmost to aid the American cause, and made suggestions of a statesmanlike and prophetic character for the civilization of his own race, White Eyes was set upon by some border ruffians and ruthlessly murdered. Fearful of the effect of this deed upon the

[1] *Dunmore's War*, 373, note 94.
[2] *Ibid.*, 28, 33, 114, 156, 302, 384.

American cause, the officers entered into a compact of secrecy and reported that the chief had died of smallpox, then prevalent at Fort Pitt. So well was the gruesome secret kept that even the victim's sons were unaware of the manner of their father's death. Thus Cornstalk, the Shawnee, loyally keeping his plighted word and bringing help and information to the Americans at Fort Randolph, and White Eyes, the Delaware, eagerly using all his powerful influence to aid the American cause at Fort Pitt, were both struck down by white assassins more barbarous than the savages they abhorred.

The Delaware treaty signed at Fort Pitt on September 19, 1778, was the keystone of McIntosh's policy, and served to draw more closely the bonds that united this tribe to the American cause. The United States commissioners were two Virginians of long experience in Indian warfare and negotiations, Gen. Andrew Lewis, victor of Point Pleasant, and his brother, Thomas Lewis, a well-known statesman. The treaty reversed the former policy of Indian neutrality and established a genuine alliance, defensive and offensive, between the contracting parties.[1] "Brothers," said White Eyes when the negotiations assured success, "we now are become one people." Not only was permission accorded to march an army into the Delaware territory, but the tomahawk was placed in the hands of the Delaware warriors and they were pledged to act with and for the Americans in all future movements. In return for these important concessions the Americans promised not only protection, but trade and civilization; the Delawares were to have unbroken intercourse with the whites and in course of time they were to be elevated to the proud position of American citizens, when their territory, guaranteed to them in perpetuity, should become a state in the American Union. This last provision was subject to the approval of Congress, which, needless to say, was never granted. The origin of this proposal is an interesting question; it has been styled a provision of military necessity on the part of the United States,[2] but if, as has also been averred, the idea took form in the desires of the second contracting party it is a testimony to the statesmanlike vision and the noble ambition of the Delaware chief,

[1] Charles J. Kappler (compiler), *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1903), publishes this as the first Indian treaty of the United States. But see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, and *Frontier Defense, passim*, for earlier treaties.

[2] Annie H. Abel, "Proposals for an Indian State, 1778–1878," in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1907, I, 89.

White Eyes, who deserves a place among the eminent red men of history.[1]

Assured of the coöperation and support of the nearest Indian tribe, General McIntosh made with great care his other preparations for an advance movement. Some months later his campaign and its methods were subjected to severe and censorious criticism by a clique of officers who rebelled against the severity of his discipline, and were eager to distinguish themselves by a career of conquest. However just this criticism may have been, the fact remains that McIntosh was the only commandant of Fort Pitt during the Revolution who occupied the enemies' territory or maintained posts beyond the Ohio for the protection of the frontier and the confusion of the foe. General McIntosh proceeded on the sound military principle of fortifying the invaded territory as he advanced, and of furnishing centers of protection and magazines of provisions and munitions at suitable intervals along his route. Had his policy been supported instead of being obstructed, and had he received the supplies and reënforcements he was entitled to expect, he might have succeeded in placing a chain of forts from the Ohio to the Sandusky. These would have served more effectively than Fort Laurens alone as a "bridle upon the savages in the heart of their own country."[2] But divided counsels and insubordinate officers, lack of concentration and coördination in the commissary department, and, most potent of all, factional division among the inhabitants and jealousy among subordinates proved the ruin of his movement, and checked at a most untimely moment the frontier advance on the upper Ohio.

In addition to these avoidable difficulties were those inherent in the character of the country—the hardships entailed by fall and winter campaigning in a wilderness, the lack of means of communication, the condition of the trails and the rivers, and

[1] After this volume was in the press an article by David I. Bushnell Jr. on "The Virginia Frontier in History—1778" appeared in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXIV, 168–79, giving the negotiations for the Fort Pitt Treaty from documents in the Library of Congress. The document is substantially the same as the one we publish from the Morgan Letter Book, but it includes a speech from General McIntosh that we do not print. The editor describes the two holographs of the triplicate treaty in the State Department and the Library of Congress. It is interesting to note that the third original treaty is in the Draper Mss. This, which we reproduce, was without doubt the one prepared for the Delaware tribesmen. It is interesting to compare the facsimile of the signatures with the one reproduced in the *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.* We do not publish the text of the treaty since this is readily accessible. See *op. cit.* in preceding note.

[2] See *post*, 294.

the superior woodcraft of the vigilant enemy. Moreover, distance and insufficient information forbade coöperation with the far-western enterprise of Col. George Rogers Clark, which might have added to the latter's laurels and have made it possible for their combined forces to capture Detroit.

The details of McIntosh's forward movement are as follows: He left Fort Pitt late in October, 1778 and marched along the Ohio to the mouth of Beaver Creek, whither many of the troops and militia had preceded him and had begun the building of a large stockade post as a depot of supplies and provisions. This post, which took the name of the General, was left in charge of Col. Richard Campbell, commanding a detachment of about 150 men, who had orders to forward supplies as rapidly as possible. The main body under General McIntosh, composed of 1,200 men, more than half of whom were militia from the northwestern counties of Virginia, advanced along Bouquet's old road, following the Beaver and its western affluent, the Mahoning, until after two weeks' marching the Tuscarawas was reached. There the Delaware Indians came to meet the General and on November 22, 1778 held an important council.[1]

On his outward march McIntosh had been warned that a large body of hostile Indians would be collected just beyond the Tuscarawas to oppose his progress, but he found no evidence of such opposition. Although the Delawares had previously requested a fort for protection in their own country, upon the army's approach they seemed apprehensive and suspicious, and, when McIntosh announced to their envoys that all tribes which did not submit to the Americans within fourteen days would be considered in the light of enemies and punished as such, his boast was received with derisive laughter. The truth was that the keen eyes of the Indians had detected the poverty of the American equipment, and the lack of all supplies to make good their threats. The tribesmen were also bitterly disappointed that no goods had been brought to supply their needs. "Without Congress can fall upon some means to supply them with clothing," wrote McIntosh to the Board of War, "it is vain for us to expect a continuance of their friendship; quires of our money, or any other money, is not equal in value to a blanket this weather to one of them."[2]

[1] See *post*, 178–80.
[2] See *post*, 198.

McIntosh's position, therefore, was extremely precarious—a large body of troops with scanty food, a horde of discontented, wavering Indian allies, and a force composed largely of militia whose terms were nearly expired and who were daily threatening to mutiny and desert. But two alternatives were open to him, either to retreat ignominiously with his whole army, or to build a small post and leave a garrison to hold it. This would awe the Indians, and would, he hoped, serve the following spring as a basis for a farther advance towards Detroit. Deciding on the latter alternative, artificers under the direction of a French engineer, Colonel Cambray, were at once set to constructing a stockade. Upon this rude wilderness structure was bestowed the name of Henry Laurens, president of Congress, who before the Revolution had been a friend and patron of McIntosh.

To defend and maintain Fort Laurens the commandant chose his ablest officer, Col. John Gibson, with whom he left 150 men of the latter's regiment. Then a countermarch was ordered, which on the militia's part became an unseemly flight. Provisions gave out and dire hunger seized the troops before Fort McIntosh was reached. There the state troops were discharged and reached their homes about the twenty-fifth of December, while the regulars went into winter quarters.

Meanwhile the militia of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, which had furnished no troops for the main campaign, had been encouraged to proceed against the enemy upon the Allegheny, by whom their own borders were being raided. The expedition was to advance to French Creek and there destroy a town of mixed Seneca and Munsee in which the raids were organized. This expedition was mismanaged from the start. According to frontier custom the militia elected its own commander in the person of "Blackboy Jimmy" Smith (so called from an early exploit), who led his forces within ten miles of their destination and then permitted the hungry men to turn about and to race for home, when a quick raid would have discomfited the enemy and no doubt have secured abundant supplies.

The pressing problem during the winter months of 1778-79 was the provisioning and maintenance of Fort Laurens. Time and again the fort was ineffectually attacked and several times besieged until the garrison when relieved was on the verge of starvation. Late in January a provisioning party under Capt. John Clark was ambushed on its return route and several men

were killed before the retreat to the post could be begun. The attacking party was led by Simon Girty, who boasted loudly in the Delaware towns of his exploit, and who captured several important letters that were being conveyed to headquarters.[1] In February McIntosh sent a provisioning party by way of the Ohio and Muskingum, under Maj. Richard Taylor, father of a future president of the United States. Meanwhile the authorities at Detroit were making strenuous efforts to capture this handful of Americans defiantly planted in the heart of the Indian territory. Capt. Henry Bird was sent with a few British regulars to take post at Sandusky, there to stimulate successive attacks on the offending garrison. Bird carried with him large supplies of Indian goods and ammunition, and organized a party that laid siege to Fort Laurens and rendered Gibson's position desperate. A member of the garrison succeeded in stealthily slipping out by night and hastened to Fort McIntosh to report the condition of the besieged. Gathering a relief party, the General marched out to Fort Laurens in three days, only to find that the besiegers had departed, leaving the garrison on the verge of exhaustion. The joy at McIntosh's arrival was marred by a stampede of the pack horses, which scattered through the woods the flour that had been taken to supply the starving men. Meanwhile Major Taylor had been turned back by the warning of the friendly Delawares, and reported that a water route for transporting supplies to this outlying post was impracticable.

The sudden abandonment of the siege of Fort Laurens on the very eve of success was not due to the fickleness of the savages nor to rumors of Taylor's and McIntosh's relieving parties. It was occasioned by the report of Governor Hamilton's capture at Vincennes by George Rogers Clark and of the latter's harsh treatment of the hostile Indians taken with scalps at their belts.

To what extent Clark and McIntosh were aware of each other's plans and movements is not revealed by the sources now at our command. If Washington was informed by Governor Henry of his secret instructions to Clark, no doubt he communicated the fact to McIntosh before his departure for the frontier. Clark's successes in the Illinois had efficiently prepared the way for McIntosh's forward movement by neutralizing the effect of a council at Detroit in June, 1778, when all the tribes except the Delawares had promised to take up the hatchet against the

[1] See *post*, 205–6, 210, 222.

Americans, and had agreed to attack the latter tribe unless it abandoned its friendship with the United States. The treaty at Fort Pitt was likewise the eastern echo of Clark's successful treaties at Cahokia. Clark was not cognizant of McIntosh's intention to penetrate the Indian country until after the commencement of the year 1779, when he was misled into thinking that the British movement towards Vincennes was "to encourage the Indians to Harrass the General on his March; as the only Probable Plan to stop him— little thinking that He had returned, and M[r] Hambleton had the same design on me, that I supposed he had at General McIntosh."[1]

As a result both of the expedition of Clark and that of McIntosh the frontier advance into the trans-Ohio region attained its greatest proportions in the early months of 1779. Prospects for an immediate and successful drive upon Detroit never seemed more auspicious. Clark's forces upon the Wabash made a signal stroke by capturing the reënforcing expedition for Governor Hamilton and securing large quantities of supplies and Indian goods. Clark's men were chafing to be led on to further conquests. McIntosh, after the relief of Fort Laurens, was firmly resolved to push on at least to Sandusky and there establish the third in his chain of posts as a preliminary to a farther invasion of the enemy's territory. The Indians were completely demoralized by the American successes; the Wyandot were pleading with the Delawares to pave the way for a treaty between their tribe and the advancing army, while the Western tribes were daily seeking Vincennes and offering their services to its conqueror. The fort at Detroit was reported to be in a dilapidated condition, its pickets falling down and its garrison depleted, while the majority of the merchants of that place were known to be friendly to the American cause; even the children in the streets cried aloud, "Success to Clark," and all things presaged the speedy fall of this center of hostile activity against the American frontier.

But jealousy, lack of subordination in McIntosh's division, and the impossibility of coördination between the different expeditions ruined this fair prospect. Col. George Morgan, who had arrived at Fort Pitt early in January, stirred the lurking dissatisfaction with McIntosh into active opposition. As former Indian agent, Morgan persuaded the Delawares that they had been wronged by the treaty of 1778, and encouraged them to carry their pro-

[1] *Illinois Historical Collections*, VIII, 131–32.

tests to Congress in person. Morgan's friends and well-wishers in McIntosh's army opposed any farther advance, alleging difficulties which the latter's ignorance of the region rendered him unable to combat. So in sadness and disappointment the General retired from Fort Laurens, taking with him the worn garrison of Gibson and leaving in its place a hundred fresher troops under command of Maj. Frederick Vernon of the Pennsylvania line.

Clark's disappointments the same season were correspondingly bitter. Promised reënforcements both from Virginia and Kentucky, he hoped by midsummer to have a thousand men under his command. But of the Virginia forces only 150 reached Vincennes, while Col. John Bowman, county lieutenant of Kentucky, instead of marching his militia to aid Clark's advance from Vincennes, undertook a separate enterprise against the Shawnee towns. Clark afterwards regretted that he had not attempted to take Detroit at the auspicious moment when, flushed with victory, his men were eager to be led thither from Vincennes.[1] But he seems never to have expected coöperation from McIntosh nor to have perceived the immense advantage that would have accrued to both wings of the army from a concerted attack.

Meanwhile the representations of McIntosh's inefficiency made to Washington by the officers' clique had done their work, and his recall was determined upon. News from Georgia of a British invasion and of his family's peril, as well as discouragement with western conditions made the recall seem to the General a release from an intolerable situation. Nevertheless, stung by the misrepresentations of his conduct during the campaign, after his return to the main army he requested an official investigation. In view of the difficulty of securing the attendance of witnesses from Pittsburgh and the need for his services in the South, McIntosh reluctantly abandoned the opportunity for exoneration, therein showing both good judgment and patriotism.

While not a military genius, and while somewhat deficient in the personal qualities that make for successful leadership, McIntosh was, nevertheless, well grounded in the principles of good generalship. His administration of the difficult frontier post of Fort Pitt was marked by vigor and ability. When he was chosen to command, the situation was so threatening that the official commissioners reported to Congress: "We have now more possible reasons to apprehend that so far from effectually repelling the

[1] *Ibid.*, 151, 300.

Indians the Inhabitants will rather retire to the other side of the Mountains."[1] At the time of his departure the Indian raids had nearly ceased, the Indian country was occupied, the nearer tribes were seeking an American alliance, and the abandonment of the trans-Allegheny frontier was averted. All this had been accomplished with about five hundred regular troops, and with scant support from the local militia and its officers. McIntosh applied the principle announced by his successor that "It is much easier to protect the inhabitants by carrying the war into the Indian Country with one thousand men than with three times that number stationed at different Forts or even ranging on the frontier."[2]

The question of McIntosh's successor agitated the advisers of Washington, who, nevertheless, decided that the only practicable thing was to choose one of the colonels then upon the Ohio frontier. To conciliate Pennsylvania interests Col. Daniel Brodhead was chosen, and on April 5, 1779 received notice of his appointment. Immediately McIntosh turned over the command to his successor and left for Philadelphia after but eight months active service on the western border.

Brodhead, thus given an opportunity to conduct a campaign and to win laurels for himself, had better prospects than any of his predecessors. He had a force of 722 regular troops stationed at Fort Pitt, Fort McIntosh, and Fort Laurens, with small garrisons at Fort Hand, Fort Henry, Fort Randolph and Holliday's Cove.[3] Thus the border was well covered by garrisoned posts. In addition to these troops Washington ordered to the frontier a regiment from Maryland, known from its former commandant as Rawlings' Regiment. With these considerable forces at his command Brodhead faced an Indian enemy more completely demoralized than at any other period during the American Revolution. Only the Mingo and the Shawnee were conducting hostile operations; the other Western tribes were cowed and inactive.

During the spring of 1779 Washington was preparing for an invasion of the Iroquois territory by way of the Susquehanna River. He designed to have the commandant at Fort Pitt support this movement by a counterstroke up the Allegheny which would punish the Mingo raiders of Westmoreland County and prevent them from going to the help of the other Iroquois. To this end

[1] *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XXIV, 52.
[2] See *post*, 311.
[3] See *post*, Appendix, 411–12.

Fort Laurens was to be evacuated and all the available troops were to be concentrated at Fort Pitt in preparation for a northern advance. This plan was congenial to the bold spirit of Brodhead, who burned to distinguish himself by some sudden exploit as Clark had done, and who longed to reverse McIntosh's policy and to abandon "that hobby horse upon Muskingum," as Fort Laurens was contemptuously dubbed.

It was, therefore, a great disappointment when during the first days of May Brodhead received from headquarters an order to rescind his advance movement, to maintain the posts already occupied, and to dispose his troops to the best advantage to "protect the country on a defensive plan." The reasons of the commander in chief were: "The difficulty of providing supplies in time—the want of satisfactory information of the routes and nature of the country up the Allegheny and between that and the Indian settlements,—consequently the uncertainty of being able to coöperate to advantage and the hazard which the smaller party might run for want of a coöperation." He also considered that drawing off the troops from the farther West would be misunderstood by the enemy, and would encourage the Indians to renew their attacks upon that portion of the frontier.[1] While thus for the time being ordering a defensive position Washington intimated that an advance would be permitted as soon as circumstances seemed auspicious. Brodhead thereupon proposed the following ambitious plan: a sudden blow against the Allegheny Mingo, then by dropping down by water to the Scioto, a surprise attack upon the Shawnee, and an advance thence against Detroit.[2] While awaiting his superior's response to this proposition Brodhead with much reluctance made plans to provision Fort Laurens. At the same time he withdrew the regulars from the distant post of Fort Randolph at the mouth of the Kanawha, which was immediately burned by the Indians.

Brodhead next considered the Indian situation, and how to ensure to the Americans the advantages of the demoralization and fear then existing in the trans-Ohio region. Not only were the Delawares firm in their attachment to the cause to which they had pledged their faith, but they were triumphantly proclaiming to the other tribes their wisdom in having formed an American alliance. To give this tribal sanction they bestowed upon Colonel Brodhead the name of one of their distinguished chiefs, who next

[1] See *post*, 293–94.
[2] See *post*, 311.

to Taimenend (Tammany), whose name had been conferred upon Colonel Morgan, was most revered in the Delaware councils. Brodhead's descendants were proud of the honor thus accorded him and cherished the document wherein he was proclaimed to be *Machingwe Keesuch* or the Great Moon.[1] In his new capacity as Delaware chief, the commandant at Fort Pitt sent messages to all the tribes with whom the Delawares had relations, inviting them to seek the American alliance. Clark's agents were working to the same end, and so great was the alarm throughout the Indian territory at the capture of Hamilton at Vincennes, and the successful occupation of their territory at Fort Laurens that from the Chippewa on Lake Superior to the Cherokee on the Tennessee the American messages were favorably received by the Western tribesmen.

At the far post of Mackinac on the upper lakes, the commandant, Arent Schuyler De Peyster, was seriously alarmed at the sudden change in the Indian attitude. Early in the spring of 1779 he had agents upon the Mississippi and throughout the territory we now know as Wisconsin collecting tribesmen to assist Hamilton in capturing Clark at the Illinois. Charles Langlade, formerly an officer in the French and Indian War and the principal inhabitant of the little French-Canadian settlement of Green Bay, was the British Indian agent in the territory west of Lake Michigan. He employed as his lieutenant his nephew, Charles de Verville Gautier, who had important connections at Prairie du Chien. Gautier's summons to war met with much opposition from agents that Clark had sent up the Mississippi, especially from Godefroy de Linctot, at one time an officer in the Canadian army, who represented to the Indians that their former "fathers," the French, were in alliance with the Americans.[2] Langlade likewise found his appeals to the Indians of Lake Michigan opposed by two powerful chiefs at the Milwaukee village, who had recently signed a treaty with Clark at Cahokia.[3] With great difficulty Langlade and Gautier succeeded in raising a body of Wisconsin Indians, with whom they had proceeded as far as Milwaukee when news of Hamilton's capture reached them, and their forces quickly melted away.[4]

[1] See *post*, 282.
[2] *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XI, 126–28.
[3] *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 252–55; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 130; *id.*, XVIII, 384, note 52.
[4] *Id.*, XI, 128, 132, 134.

Rumors reached De Peyster about this time that the rebels were advancing by way of Lake Michigan against his own post; frightened squaws reported that they had seen boats building near Milwaukee, while the Ottawa and Chippewa were thought to have accepted belts from the Virginians to remain neutral in the event of an attack upon Mackinac.[1] De Peyster hastened to put his fortifications into a state of defense. He leveled the sand hills that commanded them on the west,[2] and sent presents to the Sioux and the Winnebago to persuade them to oppose any movement via the Mississippi or Rock rivers. He then sent Gautier with a force of faithful Indian allies to burn the fort at Peoria on the Illinois, where a group of traders secretly favorable to the Americans had collected.[3] At the same time he ordered Lieut. Thomas Bennett of his own garrison to proceed down the east shore of Lake Michigan, and to watch the Potawatomi, while Langlade was to gather up the British allies of the west coast and join Bennett at Chicago.[4] De Peyster himself held, on July 4, a great council with the Chippewa and the Ottawa. His speech upon this occasion he afterwards published in the form of a rhymed chronicle, curious for its odd use of Indian terms and for its skillful appeals to the wavering tribesmen to maintain their British allegiance. Apparently the only tribes throughout the entire western country who were thoroughly to be trusted to act in accordance with his directions were the Sioux under their powerful chief, Wabasha, and the Menominee of Green Bay.[5]

With all his care, De Peyster felt little assurance of the safety of his post. Gautier did not succeed in reaching Peoria, while Bennett was turned back long before he reached the rendezvous at Chicago. The latter reported that the Potawatomi were strongly disaffected, and the only result of his efforts was the securing of Baptiste Point du Sable, a negro trader formerly at Chicago, whose affiliations were with the Spanish at St. Louis. Even the Ottawa and Chippewa were preparing to go to Fort Pitt at the summons of Colonel Brodhead. Moreover, De Peyster knew that the fate of his post depended upon that of

[1] *Ibid.*, 129–31.
[2] At this time the post at Mackinac was on the south shore of the straits near the present Old Mackinaw or Mackinaw City.
[3] *Ibid.*, 137.
[4] *Id.*, XVIII, 375, 391–401.
[5] *Ibid.*, 377–90.

Detroit, and if the latter should fall Mackinac must be surrendered without a blow.[1]

At Detroit the British were in even greater apprehension than at Mackinac. Captain Lernoult, Hamilton's successor in charge of the post, heard with dismay of the widespread disaffection of his Indian allies. All the powerful tribes of the Wabash, the Miami, Mascouten, Kickapoo, Wea, and Piankashaw, were either neutral or actively engaged on the American side. The Shawnee were advised by the Ottawa and the Chippewa to remain quiet in their villages.[2] Worst of all, the Wyandot, the most powerful and nearest neighbors of the garrison at Detroit, were favorably considering the invitation forwarded to them by the Delawares to visit the commandant at Fort Pitt.[3] In order to avert this threatened catastrophe Lernoult sent his second in command, Capt. Henry Bird, to the Sandusky villages of this tribe to endeavor to organize a raid against Fort Laurens. The Delawares and Moravians in alarm reported to Colonel Brodhead that cannon were being brought against that outpost. But Bird was unable to make good his threat; no amount of persuasion sufficed to induce the Wyandot to undertake the enterprise. Instead they sent a messenger to assure the Delawares of their purpose to accept the latter's offers.

The messenger was John Montour, a well-known Delaware half-breed, who had been educated at Philadelphia. During the early years of the Revolution Montour had seemed to favor the American cause, but for over a year he had been living at Sandusky and frequenting Detroit.[4] The last day of May Montour arrived at the Delaware towns with his welcome news. When he left Sandusky the Wyandot were holding a council. He reported that they were to speak to their "Fathers at Detroit," and to tell them "now you have cheated us long enough * * * we are going to shake hands with the Virginians, we are therefore their friends already."[5]

The Wyandot chiefs did not immediately make good their promises. They postponed their journey to await the turn of events, and secret information was sent to Brodhead that they were deceiving the Americans and only temporizing until their corn

[1] *Michigan Pioneer & Historical Collections*, IX, 387.
[2] *Id.*, XIX, 423. See also *post*, 279–81.
[3] *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 412; *id.*, IX, 411.
[4] *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 28, 202; *Frontier Defense*, 19, 280; *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, X, 340; *id.*, XIX, 413; see also *post*, 346, 381.
[5] *Pennsylvania Archives*, VII, 516.

was ripe, when they could defy an attack upon their villages. By September, however, they came to the conclusion that their best interests lay in making friends with the Americans, whereupon the Half King came in person to Pittsburgh and a treaty was drawn, which redounded greatly to Brodhead's credit and minimized his difficulties in protecting the western settlements.

The Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi never got as far as Fort Pitt, although they were strongly inclined to follow the example of the Wyandot. On May 31 they attempted to soothe the suspicions of the British by assurances of their continued allegiance;[1] but when called to a council at Detroit in June, 1779 they openly defied their former ally, threw down the hatchet presented to them, and declared they were going to visit their "brothers the Virginians, to make peace and receive that which is good." Thereupon, according to the reports of the savages, the commandant flew into a passion, and flung defiance both at the Indians and their rebel allies.[2]

Lernoult made strenuous efforts to rebuild his fort, and to make ready to receive either Clark or Brodhead should an expedition against Detroit actually be set on foot. To counteract the influence of the Delawares and the spread of disaffection among the Indians he utilized the Loyalists who had escaped from Pittsburgh, whose influence was strong with the trans-Ohio tribes. McKee was sent to the Shawnee, whom he persuaded to refuse the overtures of the Americans. In token of their defiance they burned the message Brodhead sent them,[3] and continued to launch devastating raids against the settlements of Kentucky. It was in retaliation for these that Col. John Bowman, county lieutenant of Kentucky, in May, 1779 called out 300 volunteers and raided the Scioto towns of this tribe. The Mequochoke Shawnee, who were in close alliance with the Delawares, came to Fort Pitt in September with the Wyandot; but the remainder of the tribe were obdurate in their refusal of any American proposal, and for fourteen years longer continued to be the scourge of the western border.

The services of Simon Girty were employed among the Seneca Mingo of the Ohio region. As a boy Girty had been a captive among this tribe, and his influence with it was so disastrous to the American cause that a price was set upon his head and a

[1] *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, IX, 413.
[2] See *post*, 363.
[3] See *post*, 349–50.

determined, though vain, effort was made to effect his capture. But the Delawares were not willing to see Girty shot, as undoubtedly he would have been if captured, and Heckewelder reported to Brodhead that Girty could not be taken in the Delaware town.[1] Girty was in communication with those who wished well to his cause in the Pittsburgh region, and he brought to the Delaware village a packet of letters "taken out of a hollow tree." His party made a serious attempt to waylay and murder the Moravian missionary, David Zeisberger; and it was no doubt due to Girty's influence that the small band of Mingo living at Pluggy's Town and a little group of irreconcilable Delawares under Wyondochella continued to threaten the homes of the Americans.

The British at Niagara were concerned in the effort to stem the tide of trans-Ohio disaffection and to improve conditions at Detroit by utilizing the influence of the Six Nations over the Western tribesmen. Col. Mason Bolton, commandant at Niagara planned to send Col. John Butler with a force of Loyalist rangers to coöperate with Captain Bird in an attack on Fort Laurens. "After this Battle at Fort Laurens is over," he boasted, "the Mingoes will all go home to their own Country, & then the six nations will fall on the Wyondotts." This threat not being carried out, Brodhead was next notified that Butler with 300 rangers was coming down the Allegheny, when the "strawberries were ripe," to fall upon the defenseless inhabitants who "are busey at their farms, and suspect nothing."[2] Almost all the raids on the upper Ohio during the spring of 1779 occurred east and south of Fort Pitt, and were the work of British agents from Niagara, in the Mingo and Munsee towns on the upper Allegheny, urging the tribesmen against the frontier of Westmoreland County.

On February 26, the first blow fell on Turtle Creek, but twenty miles to the east of Fort Pitt, when eighteen persons were killed or carried off. As a result of this raid the inhabitants of Westmoreland were ready to evacuate the border. The county lieutenant was authorized to raise two companies of rangers to protect the settlements, and every exertion was made to patrol the warpaths by which the invaders came.

Although Butler with 300 rangers never made the proposed descent upon the Pennsylvania settlements, a number of Loyalists accompanied an Indian war party which on April 26 laid

[1] *Pa. Archives*, VII, 541.
[2] *Ibid.*, 518; *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 414.

siege to Fort Hand, then the only fortified post to the northeast of Fort Pitt. This siege was as noteworthy for Pennsylvania as that of Donnally's the previous spring had been for Virginia. A small garrison of regulars under Capt. Samuel Moorhead had occupied Fort Hand since the autumn of 1777;[1] his company had dwindled to seventeen men, but at the time of the siege the number of the defenders was increased by neighboring farmers who sought refuge in the fort. The first alarm was given by some men who were fired upon while ploughing. The enemy soon appeared in force, and for twenty-four hours subjected the little garrison to a grilling fire which resulted in the wounding of three men. An attempt was made to burn the fort by firing a deserted building near at hand. All efforts to secure the garrison's surrender proved futile; "it is worth mentioning," reports the county lieutenant, "that while the men were firing out of the Fort, the women were busily employed in running bullets for them."[2] Finally, near noon on the second day of the siege, the defenders saw with great relief the large party of warriors abandon the place and prepare for a hasty departure. Rumors of the approach of Col. Archibald Lochry with a body of county militia were responsible for their haste. He overtook and defeated the retiring enemy and recaptured a large amount of plunder. This signal success heartened the inhabitants to stand their ground, although raiding parties continued to infest the settlements throughout the succeeding summer.

The upper tributaries of the Monongahela, the Cheat, and the small streams near modern Morgantown, West Virginia, were likewise subjected to murderous raids during the spring of 1779. Several incidents that occurred in this connection have become renowned in border annals; such was the feat of Mrs. Bozarth, who without assistance killed three Indians who were trying to force an entrance into her cabin; and that of David Morgan, who kept two red men at bay to allow his children to escape, then closed with and killed one and severely wounded the other.[3] Brodhead determined to retaliate in kind for these hostilities and offered his young officers the opportunity to go, painted and disguised as Indians, upon raiding expeditions of their own into the enemy's territory. The whites were usually accompanied

[1] *Frontier Defense*, 97–99.
[2] See *post*, 299.
[3] See *post*, 292; R. G. Thwaites, *Withers' Chronicles of Border Warfare* (Cincinnati, 1895), 278–80.

by one or more Delawares, who, because of their willingness to bring in scalps from their own race, were known to the frontiersmen as "pet" Indians. Several of these partisans won considerable local fame by their exploits, and one of them, Capt. Samuel Brady, became thenceforward the "hero of the Western border."

The occasion which first made the name of Brady known, both in the army and throughout the frontier settlements, was his rescue of the Henry children in June, 1779. He was out upon a scout when he discovered the trail of an Indian party making outward from the settlements. Suspecting mischief he started in pursuit, and by night came up with their encampment on the bank of the Allegheny River. The party had attacked a family near Fort Pitt, and after killing a woman and four children was carrying off several horses, all the family possessions, and two captive children. Secretly surrounding the camp, Brady waited for the early dawn, when he killed the leader, a noted Munsee chief, drove off the remaining savages without guns or clothing, and rescued the frightened captives. Upon the return of the rescuing party to Fort Pitt they were received with acclaim. A Delaware Indian with much ceremony accepted the Munsee scalp in token of his enmity to that tribe. The episode was heralded far and wide. Brodhead reported Brady's courage and resourcefulness in glowing terms to the commander in chief, who sent his thanks to the young hero, whose fame thereafter became a household word. Upon the strength of this exploit Brodhead ventured to suggest to the authorities of Pennsylvania that a reward for scalps might be a valuable stimulus to border scouts; but the president of the state, after sounding Washington and Congress, replied that there was an evident "Reluctance on the Subject, & an Apprehension that it may be improved by our Enemies to a National Reproach."[1]

After the siege of Fort Hand, and the several raids upon the Westmoreland frontier, Brodhead provided for its better defense by rebuilding the post at Kittanning to which he accorded the name of Fort Armstrong; and by abandoning Fort Hand for a more advanced station called Fort Crawford at the mouth of Pucketty Creek.

One interesting episode connected with Indian affairs on the western frontier during the summer of 1779 was the embassy which came in response to the Delawares' message from the dis-

[1] See *post*, 385.

tant tribe of the Cherokee. Since the outbreak of the Revolution these Indians had been under the influence of British agents and Tory traders and in 1776 they had made an onslaught upon the settlers of southwestern Virginia and eastern Tennessee, then part of North Carolina. They had been vigorously repulsed by the men of the border and their territory invaded by a considerable force under Col. William Christian.[1] The next spring the Cherokee chiefs came to Long Island on the Holston, and concluded a treaty with the commissioners of North Carolina and Virginia. This treaty was kept by the majority of the tribe, but one chief, Dragging Canoe, withdrew from the towns of his people and gathered a motley crowd of refugees into five towns at the big bend of the Tennessee. These marauders, known as the Chickamauga, kept the southwestern frontier in continual alarm.

In the meantime when Governor Hamilton left Detroit for Vincennes in the late autumn of 1778, he sent messages throughout the entire Indian country summoning all His Majesty's allies to join him in the early spring at the mouth of the Ohio. This message was conveyed to the Cherokee, who like the other tribesmen were playing a double game, ready to favor whichever party in the controversy seemed likely to succeed. They thereupon replied to the British message that their warriors would assist the British in driving the Americans from the Ohio "as far as fort Pitt."[2]

At the same time the chiefs of the tribe at Chote were giving assurances to the Indian agent from North Carolina of their adhesion to the American treaty, and their abhorrence of the deeds of the Chickamauga, who were preparing for a general war. This agent was James Robertson, later to become renowned as the "father of Middle Tennessee." During a large part of the year 1778 he lived in Chote, and upon his return to the settlements wrote to Governor Caswell in January, 1779 that the chiefs of all the Cherokee tribes gave consent to an expedition against the Chickamauga.[3] Maj. Joseph Martin, who was Indian agent for Virginia at Long Island on the Holston, made to Gov. Patrick Henry a similar report concerning the disposition of the Cherokee. Thereupon a punitive expedition was ordered

[1] *Dunmore's War*, 430; *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 156, 170, 173, 175.
[2] See *post*, 192.
[3] *State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, 1896), XIII, 300–301; *id.*, XIV, 246.

from both states, under command of Gen. Evan Shelby, a noted borderman. A body of Virginia forces, which had been enrolled for the Illinois service under Clark, participated in the campaign. They left the settlements April 10, 1779, swiftly descended the Tennessee in canoes, surprised and devastated the Chickamauga towns, and returned home in triumph.

The result of this expedition, and of Hamilton's capture by Clark, induced the Cherokee to listen to the message from the Delawares and to send in response an embassy from Chote where Robertson's influence had been strong. The delegation, composed of fourteen warriors and one woman, was headed by the chief, Raven. They arrived at Coshocton early in May, where they were welcomed with ceremonious politeness, and where much time was spent in tribal councils. The Cherokee condoled with the Delawares for the loss of White Eyes; they brightened the ancient chain of friendship between the two tribes, and finally, in July, were escorted by their hosts to the commandant at Fort Pitt. After many speeches by the Indian visitors a treaty was drawn up and signed binding the Cherokee to a defensive and offensive alliance with the Americans, and permitting the latter free passage for troops through the Cherokee territory, and their provisioning en route.[1] This article of the treaty was designed to provide for a movement from Fort Pitt upon the British posts on the lower Mississippi—a project which Brodhead had suggested to Washington,[2] but which the latter regarded as wholly impracticable.

The Cherokee alliance, like the Wyandot, was of brief duration. By 1780 their enmity to the American settlers had become so alarming that Col. John Sevier led a large force from the settlements of eastern Tennessee against them, and after being joined by Virginia troops under Col. Arthur Campbell, completely ravaged their country.[3] The Cherokee, though temporarily cowed, were enraged by this expedition and throughout the remainder of the Revolution and the succeeding Indian wars were the Shawnee of the southwestern border.

The Cherokee treaty at Fort Pitt had been postponed until July, 1779, in order to await the return from Philadelphia of the Delaware delegation which had gone to confer with Congress. As

[1] See *post*, 397–400.
[2] See *post*, 360.
[3] See description by a participant, son of Col. John Sevier, in Draper Mss., 11DD165. Campbell's report is in *Calendar of Virginia State Papers* * * * (Richmond, 1875), I, 434–37.

we have seen, this embassy was a scheme of Col. George Morgan who desired the Delawares to protest against the treaty of 1778. He also hoped to secure from the chiefs who undertook the mission a large cession of their tribal lands. Under a strong escort a group of Delawares set forth in April for the eastern cities. Killbuck, who, after the death of White Eyes, was the leading chief of his tribe, headed the delegation. They were accompanied by two of Morgan's creatures, John Dodge and Daniel Sullivan, as interpreters. The Indians were received with distinguished consideration; they visited the home of Colonel Morgan at Princeton, had an interview with Washington at Middlebrook, were formally received by the newly arrived minister from France, and had audiences with the Board of War and with a committee of Congress. They represented to Congress that through their treaty with the Americans they were deprived of supplies from Detroit, and were in serious need of goods in exchange for their peltry. They were assured that the scarcity of merchandise was due to the British blockade, which with the aid of the French navy would soon be broken, when all their wants would be supplied.

As instigated by Morgan they complained that they had not understood the treaty of 1778, that its provisions were falsely interpreted to them, and that they preferred to remain neutral and not take up the tomahawk for either party. In reply to this Congress reminded them that some of their tribesmen were even yet serving in war parties against the Americans, that as the British had forced the Indians to become their active allies, the Americans were entitled to expect participation from those who adhered to their cause.

In this conclusion the delegates concurred. But having made this admission, they were in no mood for further concessions nor for the cession of any of their lands. Instead, they cited the boundaries of their claims, and requested confirmation thereof from Congress.

Morgan about this time fell under a cloud, serious accusations being made against his integrity and disinterestedness. Among these charges was that of "counteracting the planns & Intentions of the Board of Warr, the Commissioners acting under authority of Congress, and the Commanding Officer in the Indian Country—for his own Ends & of his own authority alone." Thereupon he resigned all his offices and retired to private life. The failure

of his plans concerning the Delaware embassy was mitigated by the assignment to his care of three of their youths who had been brought to the East by the chiefs to be educated at the expense of Congress.

For the Delaware delegates, however, the visit was a distinct success. They were impressed with the power of the makers of the "thirteen great fires," were flattered by their cordial reception, and by the French minister's promise of assistance. They ever remembered that they had talked face to face with the great warrior of the Americans, who had hailed them as fellow warriors and assured them that the Americans would be ever faithful to their friends.

The anxiety which their presence caused both Washington and Brodhead was probably unknown to the chiefs. A plot was formed to murder them on their return journey, and thus to give the lie to the commander's assurances of faithful friendship on the part of the Americans. The discovery of the plot and the vigilance of their escort averted this disgrace from the American cause; its existence proves that the frontiersmen were not alone in their savage hatred of all Indians and their eagerness to be avenged on all members of their race wherever met. Under the care of both Washington and Brodhead the delegates on the twentieth of June arrived in safety at Fort Pitt. Thenceforward, for nearly two years the assistance of the Delaware tribe to the American cause was invaluable; they served continually as spies and scouts, and furnished a good contingent for Brodhead's Allegheny campaign.

Ever since his accession to command Brodhead had been urging the commander in chief to accord him permission to lead an expedition up the Allegheny against the Mingo towns. On June 23, 1779, Washington finally granted the coveted permission, and the order reached Fort Pitt about three weeks later. Brodhead set to work with great alacrity to gather his forces and supplies for the forward movement. He wrote to Col. Richard Campbell to evacuate Fort Laurens and bring off all his troops and supplies; he sent to the county lieutenants requests for volunteers; and summoned the neighboring militia to join him "when harvest is secured."

He called in the larger part of the garrisons of Fort Armstrong and Fort Crawford, since an Allegheny expedition would for the time being effectually protect these posts. He wrote to Governor

Jefferson of Virginia for permission to draft militia from that state, and remarked that he hoped to move by August 5. "If I am successful," he wrote optimistically, "it may establish the Tranquility of our frontiers for years to come."[1] The events of Brodhead's Allegheny expedition fall within the scope of our next volume. The final documents in the present volume record the enlistment of two new battalions of Virginia troops for the defense, respectively, of the southwestern and the northwestern frontiers, and the activities of the Loyalists in the former region.

The greater portion of the documents included in this volume is taken from the Draper Manuscripts, which contain many papers secured from the descendants of the Fort Pitt commandants. Especially noteworthy are the Brodhead Papers, which comprise the original minutes of the Indian speeches and treaties, and the negotiations that accompanied them. The selections from the Draper Manuscripts have been supplemented by material from the Washington Papers in the Library of Congress, and from the Letter Books of Col. George Morgan. To these have been added summaries of such printed documents as seem essential to the annals of the upper Ohio frontier during the period covered by this volume.

Louise Phelps Kellogg

[1] *Pa. Archives*, XII, 140.

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DOCUMENTS

May, 1778—July, 1779

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FRONTIER ADVANCE

VIRGINIA PLANS FOR DEFENSE

[Gov. Patrick Henry to Col. William Fleming.[1] 2ZZ45. A. L. S.]

W^m^BURGH May 5th 1778

SIR:

I am just fav^d^ with the rec^t^ of yours by Col° Henderson.[2] Be pleased to abide by the Orders sent from me of March 27th [3] as you think those of Genl Hand[4] too complex, & I can't help joining you in opinion. Yours & Col° Prestons address to the Shawanen[5] is very proper & I wish for y^rs^ & his further assistance in that Business if Occasions shall offer. If you & Col° Preston[6] shall judge that the Fifty men ordered from Green Bryer to Kellys[7] can be dispensed with, please to inform Col° Stewart[8] of

[1] Col. William Fleming, county lieutenant of Botetourt, for a sketch of whom see *Dunmore's War*, 428–29.

[2] Col. Richard Henderson, for whom see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 1, note 3.

[3] For these orders see *Frontier Defense*, 240–41.

[4] Gen. Edward Hand was commander in chief of the Western Department with headquarters at Fort Pitt. He had asked his recall from Congress which had granted it, May 2, 1778. *Frontier Defense*, 294. He remained at Fort Pitt until his successor arrived. For a sketch of General Hand see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 256, note 5.

[5] For this address see *Frontier Defense*, 258–61; the occasion for it was the murder at Fort Randolph in the autumn of 1777 of the Shawnee chief, Cornstalk, *ibid.*, 157–63.

[6] Col. William Preston was at this time county lieutenant for Montgomery County, Va., which was erected in 1776 and embraced much of the frontier of southwestern Virginia. For sketch of Preston see *Dunmore's War*, 430–31.

[7] Greenbrier County was erected in October, 1777, from portions of Botetourt and Montgomery counties, and comprised the settlements on Greenbrier River and the unsettled territory along the Great Kanawha to its mouth where Fort Randolph was located. A proposal, which was never consummated, had been made to establish on the Great Kanawha a midway post between Fort Randolph and the settlements. For the location of this proposed post at Kelly's see *Dunmore's War*, 112, note 62.

[8] For Col. John Stuart see *ibid.*, 104, note 51; he was at this time county lieu-

it. I have written him that I refer the Matter to you; for I rec[d] from him a Letter in which he observes that all the men in that County will be necessary to defend their own places & thinks the Botetourt[1] men (50), will be sufficient for the Post at Kellys. With my complements to Col[o] Preston I am

Sir y[r] mo. hble Serv[t] P. HENRY

EXTREME DANGER ON THE FRONTIER

[Col. Archibald Lochry to Gen. Edward Hand. 2U15. A. L. S.]

Y[e] 8th May 1778

D[r] GEN[L]:

I wass feavourd with your Letters of the 4th May & Am Prou[d] to Hear of the Relieff that's Prepairing for our Cuntery, which seems at this time to Be in A Destrest situation. the fruntears is all fleed [fled]. the Malitia Cant Be Got Out I Am afraide we will Be Oblidged to Evacuate all Our Out Posts. the Consequence of that will Be the Giving Up the Cuntery to the savages.[2] I Have sent you A Ruf Return of what amonition I Have Ishued to the Malitia Call[d] By your Orders On the fruntears the Property of the State of Pennsylvania. I Would Be Much oblidged to you to Lay Down to Me what way that Matter will Be settled —there is One Hundred & teen Pounds of Powder and 100 & 40 D[o] of Leed 250 flints.

I Am D[r] Gen[l] your Most Obedent Humble Serv[t]

A. LOCHRY[3]

To GEN[L] EDWARD HAND

[*Addressed:*] On Public Sarvice To Genr[l] Edward Hand In fort Pitt Pr Col[l] Pumry[4]

tenant for Greenbrier.

[1] Botetourt County was formed from Augusta County in 1769 and named for Norborne Berkeley, Lord Botetourt, then colonial governor. The county was divided in 1772 by the erection of Fincastle County, and again in 1778 when Greenbrier County was taken from it.

[2] On the situation in Westmoreland County see *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser., VI, 495, 506; also Hand's letter of May 14, *post*, 49–51.

[3] Archibald Lochry was at this time lieutenant of Westmoreland County, Pa. For a sketch of his career see *Frontier Defense*, 39, note 79.

[4] Col. John Pomeroy (Pomroy, Pumroy), born in Cumberland Valley, Pa., was one of the first settlers to remove to Derry Township in the Conemaugh

GUARD FOR PRESTON FAMILY

[Col. William Preston to Col. William Fleming. 2U16. A. L. S.]

May 10th 1778.

DEAR SIR:

The late murder down this River has so alarmed the Inhabitants, that from what I can hear since I saw you, it appears to me they will all remove from the Horse Shoe downwards;[1] and those on Toms Creek,[2] within two miles of me, are making the necessary preparation to fly on the first alarm; by which I shall be left altogether a Frontier except two or three triffling posts at between thirty and forty miles distance down the River. In this exposed situation I have neither authority nor Influence enough in this County, with the assistance of [sev]eral of the Officers, to raise even six men to guard the Place, tho' I have the Public Ammunition here, and the Records of the Surveys in this & Washington County & the Kentucky with most of the Plats. I am really at a loss what to do. To leave my Property as an Individual, & my Duty as an Officer of the Militia, is very Disagreeable to me; to continue, thus exposed & Defenceless, an easy Prey to a small Party of Savages, and run the Risque of having my Wife & numerous helpless Family Sacrificed at some unhappy and Unguarded moment looks like madness or Stupidity.

Mr Trigg[3] promised to apply to the Governor for Orders for me to keep a Guard here; Doctr Walker[4] said he would use his

Valley. See *ibid.*, 153, note 17. In 1778 he was lieutenant-colonel of the Westmoreland militia, which position he held throughout the Revolution. He was one of the commissioners in 1785 to locate the county seat, and for some years was associate justice. His wife was Isabella, sister of Alexander Barr, for whom see *ibid.*, 148, note 12.

[1] The Horse Shoe, according to a note written by Dr. Draper on the original manuscript, was about five miles below Colonel Preston's on New River. In 1844 Mrs. Lewis, wife of Col. Andrew Lewis Jr., told Dr. Draper of her recollections of the murder in 1778 of two lads, Richard Nicholson and James Bryan, in the neighborhood of Lewis' home on Roanoke. John Richardson was tomahawked and scalped but recovered. Dr. Draper adds, "It may be that Preston's letter to Col. Fleming of 10th May, '78 refers to this" incident. Draper Mss., 32S56.

[2] Tom's Creek, still called by the same name, is an affluent of New River in Montgomery County.

[3] For Stephen Trigg see *Dunmore's War*, 44, note 79.

[4] For Dr. Thomas Walker, at this time a member of the Virginia Council, see *ibid.*, 242, note 70.

Influence for that Purpose; but before an Answer can come it may be too late. In the utmost uneasiness, weighing these Things in my Mind, this Evening a Thought struck me which caused you the Trouble of this Letter; & that was to make application, to you Sir, for a small Command of men for three Weeks or a Month untill I can get an Answer from Mr Trigg; How far this can be complied with agreeable to Law I cannot determine; but as your Officers will be at Court, perhaps their Advice would Justify the Measure; and I have the Vanity to hope that some of them would even assist in procuring the Men to come Voluntarily; & to remove all Difficulties in my Power, should the Gove[rn]ment refuse the Application or request of Mr Trigg; I will then Pay & maint[ain] any Number, to a Sergeants Command, that you may think proper to send up at my own private Expence untill I get an Answer; & then I shall take the most prudent steps in my Power for the safety of my Family & will, I think, be highly Justifiable in doing so.

As I cannot Possibly be at Court, I beg you would take such notice of my Application as you may Judge proper, not to incur the smallest Reflection on [Ms. illegible] for me but what if the Invasion Act will [Ms. torn]

Esteem D^r^ S^r^ y^r^ most hble Servt
W^M^ PRESTON

[*Addressed:*] To Col^o^ William Fleming pr. Franky Preston[1]

[Summary of resolution of the Virginia Council. Printed in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXIII, 123.]

Colonel Preston was empowered to keep a sergeant and twelve men stationed at his house at Draper's Meadows, "to enable him to continue at his Habitation & to encourage others to do so."

[1] "Franky Preston" was the lad who became the Hon. Francis Preston, distinguished congressman and statesman from Virginia, and personal friend of Madison, Monroe, Jefferson, and Marshall. He was born in 1765 in Botetourt County, Va., was graduated in 1783 from William and Mary College, studied law under Wythe, and in 1792 was elected to Congress. The same year he married Sarah, daughter and heiress of Col. William Campbell. After retirement from Congress he lived at Abingdon, and during the War of 1812 was major-general of the Virginia militia; he frequently served, also, in the legislature of his state. He died at Columbia, S. C., in 1835. An interesting letter written by him from Congress in 1796 is in Draper Mss., 5ZZ90.

DISAFFECTION IN THE WEST

[Gen. Edward Hand to Maj. Horatio Gates. 3NN116–18. Transcript.]

FORT PITT, 14th May '78

I informed you of the apprehending of Eleazer Davis[1] and some of the deserters. Davis' wound is not as dangerous as represented to me. I call[d] a Gen[l] Court Martial as soon as possible, which was very opportune for reasons not known when it first met, but which you will be fully informed of by the proceedings enclosed. The members singly seemed very clear in punishing Davis, yet collectively are at a loss how to act. I refer his case to Congress. W[m] Bently and Thomas Hendricks have been executed pursuant to their sentences. W[m] Gillaspy, though his offences were aggravated, having made some important discoveries, his execution is deferred. He is a young man, and I think might yet be a good member, therefore incline to pardon him, if it meets the approbation of Congress, whose pleasure I beg you to signify on that head. Alex[r] Ballandine's sentence was first the same with that of James Chambers and Leviright Pussey, but on a revision made by the enclosed order, changed to hanging; his execution is fixt for to-morrow.

From the different enclosed papers you may form a tolerable idea of the disordered state this country is in. A number of peo-

[1] See *Frontier Defense*, 278–79. April 28, 1778 General Hand wrote (Draper Mss., 3NN112–13) to Major-General Gates from Fort Pitt: "In my last I informed of the frequent desertion from this garrison, & that 14 had eloped the night of the 20th inst. with Eleazer Davis & some others, & that a party of 40 men & 4 officers had been detached after them. I am pleased that I can now tell you they have been overtaken at the mouth of Muskingum river; that Davis, two sergt[s]—one of them serg[t] of the Guard when he deserted—six soldiers, a M[r] Puzie lately assistant surgeon here, & one of the townsmen were secured. Six soldiers, a townsman, & Davis' servant escaped—the whole having effected a landing before the party could close with them. One of the soldiers is since dead of the wounds he rec[d] before landing; & it is to be feared that a wound Davis has rec[d] will prevent his being suspended. Those who have escaped, in their hurry deprived themselves of any probable means of subsisting, must undoubtedly perish or return to Wheeling, except the Indians meet with them.

"I am, &c

EDW[D] HAND.

"THE HONB[LE] MAJ. GEN. GATES."

ple went off from Turtle Creek[1] and that neighborhood a few days ago; and I hear of a considerable emigration from Bedford county.[2] Indeed, it is my sincere belief, that if a few men are not put here immediately to encourage the timerous, tho' well affected, and overawe the Tory faction, this whole country will be abandoned or over-run by the enemy in a short time. Chambers and Puzie have rec[d] their corporal punishment,—can't say whether it will be worth the trouble to confine them agreeably to their sentences—at any rate this is not the place to do it.

Not long since a party of the Westmoreland Militia were attacked by a superior number of Indians, on the frontier of that county; the militia made a brave and obstinate resistance, but were obliged to give way, leaving nine of their number dead on the spot.[3]

I presented the party that took Davis with 200 Dolls. and John Green who made the last important discovery with 60 doll[s]. I hope you will think with me, that these sums are well laid out.

Col. Clark, & Capt. O'Hara with the provisions for Capt. Willing are on their passage.[4]

John Campbell,[5] who some years ago came here in the employ

[1] Turtle Creek, which enters the Monongahela ten miles above Pittsburgh, at the site of the manufacturing town of Braddock, was the location of the first English trading post in that vicinity, where John Frazier was found by Washington in 1753. Two years later the ambush and massacre of Braddock's army took place opposite the mouth of this run. Settlement began early upon this stream, and in 1770 Washington mentions passing settlers' houses. In the Whisky Insurrection of 1794 Braddock's Field on Turtle Creek was the scene of a gathering of 7,000 insurgents. The lands on the creek are comprised in the present townships of Braddock, North Versailles, Patton, and Wilkins in Allegheny County.

[2] For Bedford County, Pa., see *Frontier Defense*, 25, note 55.

[3] This affair took place April 28, 1778 in Derry Township near the Conemaugh. The defenders of Barr's Fort heard firing near Wallace Fort some miles away. Sallying to the relief of the latter under Maj. James Wilson, the besieging enemy turned upon the relief party and had a hand to hand contest upon a bridge. Overpowered by numbers the twenty men of the relief party were forced back and took refuge in Fort Barr, leaving nine of their number on the field of battle; in the combat four of the enemy were killed. This skirmish is described in *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser., VI, 495, 506. In Draper Mss., 3S71 is a description of this incident by John Craig, one of the participants. His recollection of the date and the numbers engaged does not tally with contemporary letters; but he gives some additional facts.

[4] For these expeditions see *Frontier Defense, passim.*

[5] For a sketch of Col. John Campbell, early settler of Pittsburgh and Louisville, see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 231, note 74.

of Alex[r] Ross, then contracting com[y] for this garrison,[1] & has since acted as Manager for M[r] Croghan[2] at this place, went from here after my arrival, & accompanied M[r] Croghan to Phil[a], & left that city in Dec[r] last, came here the beginning of y[e] month, [I] apprehended & examined him, his account not satisfactory, & awaits the pleasure of Congress concerning him, [&] rec[d] a letter since his imprisonment from Col. Rawlings &c.[3]

[EDWARD HAND]

INVASION OF GREENBRIER

[Col. William Preston to Col. William Fleming. 3ZZ15. A. L. S.]

May 17th 1778

DEAR SIR:

I have Just rec[d] a Letter from Cap[t] Cloyd[4] at Culbersons Bottom by Lt Patton[5] who left that Post yesterday Morning. He

[1] Alexander Ross was a Scotchman who came to Pittsburgh soon after Pontiac's Conspiracy (1763) and acquired a considerable estate in surrounding lands. He was commissary for the garrison of old Fort Pitt before its abandonment in 1772, and upon that event he purchased the buildings of the Fort. *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 143, note 47. His was one of the names included in the Connolly list of those who in 1775 were favorable to the British government. Either in that year or early in the following one he abandoned his estate at Pittsburgh and returned to Europe. His estate was confiscated by the Pennsylvania authorities in 1778. See *Pa. Archives*, 6th ser., XII, 5–13.

[2] For Col. George Croghan, Indian trader and British Indian agent, see *Dunmore's War*, 7, note 12. Additional material on his career has been published by Charles A. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail* (New York, 1911), II, 1–86. In June, 1778, Croghan was attainted for treason, but later was discharged and freed from the accusation.

[3] Col. Moses Rawlings (1740–1808) was a Maryland officer in the Revolution. After its close he retired to Hampshire County, Va. On May 6, 1778, he addressed a letter to General Hand from Old Town, Md., saying Campbell was believed to be a spy sent out by Croghan, that he had been visiting Croghan in Philadelphia, and was a suspicious character. Draper Mss., 3NN114–15. Campbell cleared himself of the charge of Toryism and became a loyal American. For incidents concerning Rawlings see *ibid.*, 3S111–12.

[4] For Capt. Joseph Cloyd see *Dunmore's War*, 45, note 80. For the location of Culbertson's Bottom see *ibid.*, 76, note 25.

[5] Lieut. Henry Patton in 1779 was recommended to the position of captain of Montgomery County, vice Joseph Cloyd promoted. He drew a land warrant for his services as militia officer.

informs me that Capt Henderson[1] is just returned from pursuing the Indians that committed the Murder at Wolf Creek[2] &c. but could not overtake them. That on his Tour he saw the signs of several large Parties of the Enemy coming into the Inhabitants & that the signs of those he was in pursuit encreased in his opinion to forty Men by appearance. That the Spies from Greenbrier have also seen the signs of sundry Parties approaching that Frontier; and adds that an Express from Arbuckle[3] to you went through Greenbrier County last Thursday and reported that a very large Body of the Enemy had Passed the Ohio, on upwards of one hundred Rafts, and were seen at Camp on the low Grounds. This Intelligence has so alarmed the Inhabitants, together with the backwardness of our Militia to go on Duty, that all below Walkers Creek[4] and the Horseshoe bottom are removed; and for want of men we are obliged to abandon the Posts at Culbersons & Island Creek[5] and give up thirty miles or nearly so of the Country; & without Capt Barnet[6] can send an Ensigns Command, which I have wrote for, the Fort on Walkers Creek will also be evacuated. The People below me are quite Cleared off. I have drawn upon the Lieutenants of Henry and Pittsilvania[7] for a Company each; If this should be refused I believe most of the Inhabitants from Peeck Creek[8] to the County Line will be obliged to remove.

[1] Capt. James Henderson, for whom see *Frontier Defense*, 80, note 48.

[2] Probably the attack mentioned in *ibid.*, 265. Wolf Creek is a western tributary of New River, entering it in modern Giles County.

[3] For a sketch of Capt. Matthew Arbuckle see *Dunmore's War*, 103, note 49.

[4] For Walker's Creek see *ibid.*, 56, note 96.

[5] Island Creek is a western tributary of New River in what is now Summers County, W. Va. It is the next affluent above Bluestone River.

[6] This probably refers to Capt. James Barnett of Amherst County, who aided in protecting the Montgomery County frontier. He was born Jan. 10, 1754, served in Dunmore's War, and was a commissioned officer of the Sixth Virginia Continental Regiment serving under Washington at the battle of Long Island and in other engagements. He commanded a company at Guilford, and at the close of the Revolution removed to Kentucky (1784) and settled in Madison County. There he served as sheriff and militia officer, and commanded one division of Clark's army in the Wabash campaign of 1786. He served in the Kentucky legislature, and was a prominent Presbyterian of central Kentucky, where he died not far from Richmond, Aug. 27, 1835. This information is found in Draper Mss., 37J129–30, wherein appears an autograph letter of Barnett.

[7] Pittsylvania County was erected in 1766 from Halifax County, and probably named for William Pitt, Earl of Chatham. Henry County was cut off from Pittsylvania in 1776 and named for the Virginia patriot, Patrick Henry.

[8] Peak Creek is a western affluent of New River in the present county of Pulaski, not far from the town of Dublin.

I would willingly prevent it if in my Power, but I am affraid it is not. I have no one, even to consult with; for God sake advise me what to do; I dont think your County & [can] spare any Men, therefore cant ask them; but if you are of opinion that a Company could be Raised, I am sure you will do it. Expence must not be spared to protect the Country. Those in Distress are crying out against me for not sending them assistance. These to be draughted and ought to go out, cursing me for disturbing them; my own Family in Danger & myself in Trouble & Confusion, Such is the very Disagreeable situation Dear Sir

Y^r^ most hble Servt

Wm PRESTON.

[*Addressed:*] On Public Service To Col^o^ William Fleming Botetourt Pr Express.

VIRGINIA MILITIA EMBODIED

[Gov. Patrick Henry to Col. William Preston. 4QQ170. A. L. S.]

W^ms^BURGH May 17th 1778

SIR:

Your last Letter requesting aid from the Countys of pittsylvania or Henry has been considered, and the Council advise me that 'tis improper to call for men from that Distance upon the present *prospect* only of being attacked in your County. I have to desire that you will call for such Reinforcements from the Neighbouring Militias as your Necessity may render it indispensable to receive, in Case you are attacked. Great Good may be derived from the keeping good Scouts constantly on Duty towards the Enemys Country. If the present Numbers drawn from your Militia are insufficient, draw out more & carry the Law into strict & vigorous Execution ag^t^ those who disobey.

I am Sir Y^r^ mo. h^ble^ Servt

P. HENRY

P. S. I write to Botetourt to have assistance ready if called for you on an attack

[*Addressed:*] Col^o^ Wm Preston Montgomery.

[Gov. Patrick Henry to Col. William Fleming. 18J149. Transcript.]

W^mBURGH, May 17th 1778.

SIR:

The exposed & weak situation of Montgomery county makes me dread an attack there from the Indians. I desire that you will so order matters as that speedy relief may be sent there in case the commanding officer shall call for it on an attack. For this purpose, let all the most convenient militia keep their arms ready, with every other thing necessary for acting with quickness & effect in chastizing the enemy if they visit Montgomery.

I am, Sir, Y^r mo. hb^le serv^t

P. HENRY.

[COL. W^M FLEMING.]

McINTOSH APPOINTED COMMANDANT

[Gen. George Washington to Col. William Russell.[1] Washington Papers. Draft.]

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE 19 May 1778

SIR:

I rec^d yours of the 28th ult^o inclosing a Return of that part of your Regiment that is at Fort Pitt, and giving me an account of the situation of matters to the Westward. The Commissioners[2] had made a representation to Congress a good deal similar to that of yours and therefore in consequence of their direction to nominate a proper officer to succeed Genl Hand, I have appointed Brig. Genl McIntosh.[3] I have great expectations from his prudence, good sense and knowledge of negociation in Indian Affairs, in which I imagine he has been conversant during his long residence in Carolina and Georgia.

Congress have ordered two Battalions to be raised expressly for the purpose of defending the Frontier or carrying on an expedition against the Enemy should it be found practicable.[4] It is my wish

[1] For a sketch of this officer see *Dunmore's War*, 6, note 9.

[2] A congressional commission, composed of Sampson Matthews, George Clymer, and Samuel McDowell, met at Fort Pitt early in the year 1778. *Frontier Defense*, 238–40.

[3] For a biographical sketch of Gen. Lachlan McIntosh see *ibid.*, 297, note 64.

[4] For this resolution see *ibid.*, 293–94.

to have Regiments united, and I would for that reason send the remainder of yours to Fort Pitt could I spare them at this time. When the intentions of the Enemy are more fully known and our arrangements for the Campaign are made I will endeavour to send them up. I shall as soon as possible fill up the Vacancies of Field officers in the Virginia line when a Lieu^{t} Col^{o} and Major will be appointed to the 13th.[1]

REGULARS NEEDED ON THE FRONTIER

[Timothy Pickering to Gen. George Washington. Washington Papers. A. L. S.]

WAR OFFICE May 19, 1778.

SIR:

The inclosed copy of a letter from Thomas Smith Esq. will inform you of the distressed condition of the frontiers of this state. The counties of Westmoreland & Northumberland are equally exposed with Bedford. Other accounts correspond with that of Mr Smith, & shew that a general stroke is greatly to be apprehended; and that in addition to the barbarous savages, the disaffected inhabitants are a terror to their neighbours, and that some of them mingle with the Indians in committing these horrid cruelties.

To repel the incursions of the Indians, & reduce the disaffected to obedience, nothing, in our opinion, will be effectual but a regular force, under the direction of good officers. The inhabitants appear, many of them, to be a wild ungovernable race, little less savage than their tawny neighbours; and by similar barbarities have in fact provoked them to revenge. But the innocent are now involved in one common calamity with the guilty, and all greatly disheartened. Yet, by the countenance of a few regular troops, they would recover spirit and resolution, & be instructed in & led to pursue, the necessary measures for the defence of their settlements.

It is with regret we ask for aid in this case from the main army. But we are convinced none other will be equal to the duty. An

[1] The Thirteenth Virginia Regiment was raised on the frontiers in the summer of 1776. *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 250, note 94. In September, 1778, this regiment was consolidated with the Ninth Virginia, Col. John Gibson in command, and was thereafter designated the Ninth Regiment.

officer of established reputation for bravery and capacity, commanding a regular corps, who punctually obey his orders, will alone be able to inspire the people with confidence, and reduce them to such a degree of order & regularity as shall be necessary for their defence. Mr Smith has named the Butlers for this service. Either of them would save the frontier: But if we are not misinformed, Lieu. Col^o^ William Butler[1] has been most conversant with the Indians, & their mode of fighting. We submit it therefore to your Excellency whether it will not be expedient to appoint him to this command. We conceive it will be absolutely necessary that his corps should amount to two hundred & fifty men, at least, & be composed of expert rifle-men; the officers to be such as Col^o^ Butler shall select, with your Excellency's approbation, as best qualified for that kind of service.

Such a deduction from the army we hope will at this time be attended with no material inconvenience; especially as it has been considerably reinforced, and draughts are daily coming in. Six hundred from the state of New-York will probably be at camp by the time this letter arrives there.

Congress have in contemplation an expedition against Detroit, or at least into the Indian country, that they may strike at the root of the mischief. But should it be resolved on immediately, the necessary preparations cannot be completed till September; and until then, such a regular force as we have mentioned, on the frontiers, appears to us indispensible.

Should these measures for the present relief of the frontiers meet with your Excellency's concurrence they may be put in execution immediately, agreeably to the power given by the inclosed resolve. But should you judge other means more proper, & equally expeditious for the relief of the frontiers, we beg your Excellency to determine upon them at once, without waiting for the opinion of the Board; as we fear a day's delay may prove of very ill consequence

We have the honor to be, with great respect, your Excellency's obed^t^ servants

TIM PICKERING jun.
By order of the Board [of War]

HIS EXCELLENCY GEN^L^ WASHINGTON

[1] The Butlers of Pennsylvania, sons of Thomas Butler, who emigrated from Ireland about the middle of the eighteenth century, were five brothers, all of whom took prominent parts in the Revolution. Richard and William had been Indian traders in the country west of Fort Pitt. William joined the army as

OFFICERS FOR THE WEST

[Gen. George Washington to Henry Laurens. Washington Papers. Draft signed.]

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE May 21th 1778

SIR:

General M°Intosh will have the Honor to deliver you this. He is now on his way to take the command at Pitsburg and in the Western Frontiers, and waites on Congress for their instructions.

I would also take the liberty of submitting to Congress the inclosed account of expences incurred by the General in his Journey from Georgia to join this army, and which he presented to me and to the auditors for payment. I did not know how far I might be authorized to comply with his request, and therefore lay the matter before Congress. At the same time I would observe, that nothing appears to me more equitable, than that claims of this sort, where they are not immoderate, should be satisfied by the public. If this were not the case, the expences of an Officer when ordered from one post to another, especially where they are distant would sink the whole or a very large part of his pay. The charges attending the General's journey from hence to Pitsburg, will require equal attention, and the whole I am persuaded will meet with a just and suitable provision.

I have the Honor to be with great respect Sir yr Most Obed^{t} Sert. G° WASHINGTON

THE HON^{BLE} HENRY LAURENS[1] &c.

[Gen. George Washington to Timothy Pickering. Washington Papers. Draft.]

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE 23^{d} May 1778

DEAR SIR:

I have been fav^{d} with yours of the 19th with its inclosures on the subject of the Indian ravages upon the Western Frontier.

captain, Jan. 5, 1776, was promoted to the rank of major, and on Sept. 30, 1776, to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment. He commanded his regiment throughout the war, the colonel being a prisoner on parole. Col. William Butler retired from service Jan. 1, 1783 and died in 1789.

[1] Henry Laurens of South Carolina was president of the Continental Congress.

previous to the Receipt of it, I had put that part of the 13th Virginia Regt which remained here under marching orders, with an intent of sending them to Fort Pitt as they were raised in that Country. Immediately upon receiving the account of the alarming situation of the Frontier inhabitants from you, I ordered the 8th Pennsylvania Regt to march. They were also raised to the Westward and are a choice Body of Men, about one hundred of them have been constantly in Morgans Rifle Corps.[1] These two Regiments will march full [to] the number of 250 Men from hence. There are upwards of 100 of the 13 Virginia now at and near Fort Pitt, and many deserters belonging to both, will come in, when they find their Regiments are to do duty in that Country.

As Colo Russell of the 13th Virginia Regiment is already at Fort Pitt and Colo Brodhead[2] commands and goes up with the 8th Pennsylvania; it was impossible to give the command of the

[1] The rifle corps of Gen. Daniel Morgan joined Washington before Boston in 1775. The Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, raised around Fort Pitt in 1775, marched early in 1776 to join the Continental army and served until 1778, when it was ordered back to Fort Pitt. The regiment remained on the frontier until the close of the Revolution.

[2] Col. Daniel Brodhead was born in Ulster County, N. Y., in 1736; while he was an infant his father removed to Brodhead Manor in Monroe County, Pa., near Stroudsburgh, a locality that was attacked during the French and Indian War. About the year 1771 Brodhead removed to Reading where two years later he became deputy surveyor. On the outbreak of the Revolution he was chosen delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention, raised a company of riflemen, and joined Washington's army. After the battle of Long Island he was transferred to the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment as lieutenant-colonel, and on the death of Col. Aeneas Mackay was placed in command, March, 1777, of the Eighth Pennsylvania. He participated in the campaign of 1777–78, passed the winter at Valley Forge, and marched west to Pittsburgh with his regiment in August, 1778. After the recall of General McIntosh in April, 1779, Brodhead was made commandant of the Western Department—a position he occupied until September, 1781. During this time he led two expeditions into the Indian country; for that of September, 1779, up the Allegheny River, he received the public thanks of Congress. The last year of his command at Fort Pitt was embittered by a controversy with Col. John Gibson, who succeeded him in command. Before his recall from the West he had been made colonel (Jan. 17, 1781) of the First Pennsylvania Regiment; at the close of the war he was brevetted brigadier-general. In 1789 he was appointed surveyor-general for the state, which position he held until 1800. His later years were spent at Milford, Pike County, where he died, Nov. 15, 1809. The citizens of this place erected a monument to Brodhead in 1872. Although twice married, he left only one daughter, his only son having been killed in the Revolution. In 1846 Dr. Draper visited Brodhead's descendants and secured from them many of his military papers.

detatchment to Lieu[t] Col° Butler. Indeed he does not seem to wish to go upon the expedition, as he says his influence is not so great among the Inhabitants of the back Country as the Board imagine. From his Knowledge of the Indian Country, their language, and manners he certainly would be very useful and I shall therefore either send him or Col° John Gibson up, who I am informed can render equal service. I can very illy spare the Troops which I have sent, especially the 8th Pennsylvania Reg[t] which composed greatest part of Morgans Corps, as the Draughts and Recruits from the different States, not only fall short of the stipulated numbers, but come in extremely slow. If Col. Jn° Gibson goes up he will take the command of the 13th Virginia Regiment pro tempore, and Col° Russell will come down to Gibsons. There is a dispute subsisting between Col° Russell and Col° William Crawford[1] for the 13th Virginia Regiment, and I do not mean, that this temporary appointment of Col° Gibson, to the command of it, should prejudice Col° Crawfords claim, should he incline to prosecute it hereafter. If the two Regiments to be raised upon the Frontier are not disposed of, I would recommend Col° Crawford to the command of one of them. I know him to be a brave and active officer and of considerable influence upon the Western Frontier of Virginia.

I am &c [GEORGE WASHINGTON]

COL° PICKERING

[Gen. George Washington to Maj. Richard Campbell. Washington Papers. Draft signed.]

To Major Richard Campbell[2]

SIR: You are to march immediately with the thirteenth Virginia Regiment to York Town in Pensylvania, going thro Lancaster and collecting from the Hospitals there and at other places all the convalescents belonging to the said Regiment who are

[1] For this officer see *Dunmore's War*, 103, note 48.

[2] Lieut.-Col. Richard Campbell was a native of Frederick County, Va., and a distant relative of the Campbell family of southwest Virginia. He enlisted as captain in the Eighth Virginia Regiment on Feb. 19, 1776; was made major of the Thirteenth Virginia, Aug. 10, 1777, and lieutenant-colonel in February, 1778. In 1781 he was transferred to the Fourth Virginia and sent south under General Greene. He was wounded at Camden in April, 1781, and was killed at Eutaw Springs, Sept. 8, 1781.

able to proceed. You will also remain with the Regiment after it arrives at Yorktown till it receives further orders respecting it's destination; when that is done, and the Regiment begins it's march from thence, you are to return immediately and join this army.

Given at Head Q^rs Valley forge 24th May 1778

G^o WASHINGTON

[Gen. George Washington to Gen. Lachlan McIntosh. Washington Papers. Draft signed.]

To Brigad^r Genl McIntosh

SIR: The Congress having been pleased to direct me, to appoint an Officer to command at Fort Pit and on the Western Frontiers, in the room of Brigadier General Hand, I am induced, but not without reluctance, from the sense I entertain of your merit, to nominate you, as an Officer well qualified from a variety of considerations, to answer the Objects, which they may have in view.

I do not know particularly what the Objects are, which Congress have in contemplation in this command, and therefore request, that you will, as soon as you conveniently can, repair to York Town and receive their instructions, respecting them.

I have only to add, that I shall be happy to hear from you, as often as opportunity will permit, and my warmest wishes, that your services may be honorable to yourself and approved by your Country.

I am Sir with great esteem & regard Yr most Obed Sevt

G^o WASHINGTON

CAMP VALLEY FORGE
May [26] 1778

[Gen. George Washington to Capt. Lachlan McIntosh. Washington Papers. Draft.]

Captain Lachlan McIntosh of the first Georgia Regiment[1] is to attend Brigadier General McIntosh in the Western Depart-

[1] Capt. Lachlan McIntosh Jr. was the son of the General. He had served as lieutenant and as captain in the Georgia troops. Later (1784) he served as a

ment while he shall have occasion for him, acquainting his commanding officer in Georgia of the same when opportunity offers.

The Captain's stay in camp this winter for improving himself in discipline is approved and while he remains with the General he is to act as Brigade inspector to the Troops under his command. His rank in the line of the Army is not to be prejudiced by this appointment or his absence on the command on which he is now ordered.

Given at Head Q^rs this 27th day of May Anno Domini 1778.

[Gen. George Washington to Col. William Russell. Washington Papers. Draft.]

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE 28th May 1778

SIR:

The particular situation of Indian Affairs to the Westward rendering it necessary to send up officers acquainted with their language, customs and Country, I have among others, qualified to answer these purposes, ordered Col° Jn° Gibson to Pitts Burgh with Brig. Genl M°Intosh: As there are but two Continental Regiments employed upon this Service, the 8th pennsylvania and 13th Virginia, there is only a command for two Colonels, and therefore I am under the necessity of directing Col° Gibson to take the command of your Regiment for the present, and of desiring you to come down and take the command of Col° Gibsons, the 6th, in his absence. My only reason for making this temporary change is, that the nature of the service calls for an officer accustomed to the management of Indians, and you can be more usefully employed here.

I am Sir Your most ob^t Servt

[GEORGE WASHINGTON]

COL. RUSSELL.

member of the Georgia legislature and as a commissioner to report on Tennessee river lands.

INVASION OF GREENBRIER

[Col. William Preston to Col. William Fleming. 3ZZ16. A. L. S.]

May 30th at 10 Clock 1778

D[r] Sir:

Last night Cap[t] Floyd[1] returned from Potts Creek[2] with the unhappy News from Greenbrier. I had rode to M[r] Byrns's to stay all night & therefore did not hear it till this Moment. Such is my situation that I can do nothing but spread the News that the People may be on their Guard. Indeed I am apprehensive most of them will remove; it is impossible for me to get one Man to go out. I have Just now made a third application to the county L[t] of Henry & a second to Pittsilvania & have demanded one hundred men from each, but I am doubtful that this Express will be no more successful than the former.

I am extremely uneasy on account of our Western frontier, as there is reason to doubt a stroke will be made there at the same time without a Possibility of any previous Notice. For, I have not a doubt but the Enemy will endeavour to make the stroke as exst[en]sive as Possible & spread Destruction & Terror along our whole Frontiers. I hope to hear from you before this reaches you.

Cap[t] Robinson[3] sent out the scouts yesterday as you directed & I ordered two down this River but how long they will stay is uncertain. There are a few Families at Culberson whom I am afraid will fall into the hands of the Enemy as I cannot raise a Party to Guard them in. There is another small Post in the same situation.

I tremble for the fate of the Greenbrier People, God relieve them, for I doubt it is not in the Power of Man; as the alarm was so sudden & they so remote. Cap[t] Henry Smith[4] begs for 10

[1] For John Floyd see *Dunmore's War*, 9, note 15.

[2] Potts' Creek drains the valley between Potts' and Peter Mountain in Monroe County, W. Va., and Alleghany County, Va. It is a tributary of Jackson River, an upper branch of the James.

[3] Probably this was Capt. James Robinson of Botetourt, who was commissioned in May, 1777, and served at the battles of Cowpens and Guilford. There were also David, Hercules, and John Robinson, who were at some time during the Revolution captains in the Botetourt militia.

[4] Henry Smith was an early settler of Augusta County where he held land as early as 1754; the one mentioned here was probably Henry Jr., who was captain

men at his House to keep the Communication with G brier open. If they could Possibly be raisd it would answer a good Purpose.

If you see any one coming to Mr Madisons[1] I would be much obliged to you for 100 flints as several of my Guns are useless for want of them.

I hope to hear the Particulars of the news from you as I know little more than what Col Lewis wrote in a small note to Capt H Smith telling him of a large Body, perhaps 300 Indians at the Meadows on the 27th. As you have the Particulars you will know best what steps ought to be taken for the Defence of the Frontiers & if you can think of any thing wherein I can assist you, pray inform me & I shall be ready to do it.

I am Sir y^r^ mo Ob^t^ Servt

Wm PRESTON

pray give my Family notice that I am well.

[*Addressed:*] On Public service to Col^o^ William Fleming

[Col. William Preston to Col. William Fleming. 2U21. A. L. S.]

May 31st 1778.

D^r^ SIR:

I forgot to tell in my Letter of Yesterday, that on fryday last I rec^d^ a Letter from Col^o^ Lynch,[2] of an old Date, in which he informs me that the lead for your County has been ready since the middle of April, therefore it may be sent for when you think proper. He also says that the Governor wrote to him to receive Pay for the Pound of lead to each man; and as the Business is carried on at a very great Expence he cannot afford to sell it at less than 2/ [shillings] p^r^ pound; but hopes he shall be able to supply Government with enough to answer all their Demands.

There was a Man here this Day that left Vanbibbers[3] on fryday evening near Night, at which Time there had not been any Damage done by the Enemy that he heard of. There has guns

of Botetourt militia in 1778—possibly he was a brother of Gen. Daniel Smith, whose father's name was Henry. See also *Frontier Defense*, 81.

[1] Thomas Madison for whom see *Dunmore's War*, 59, note 99.

[2] Col. Charles Lynch for whom see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 174, note 4.

[3] For this locality see *ibid.*, 177, and *Frontier Defense*, 78.

been heard & much talk of Indians on this Quarter but no certainty as yet.

I am Sir your very hble Servt

Wm Preston.

[*Addressed:*] To Colo William Fleming Botetourt Pr Favr of Colo Robertson.

[Capt. Matthew Arbuckle to Gen. Edward Hand. 18J76. A. L. S.]

Greenbrier June 2nd 1778.

Sr:

I was unfortunate anugh after my return from Williamsburg to this place in a persuit after a party of Indians to receive a wound in by [my] Knee occasioned by a fall on some rocks, which disabled me from returning to my post as soon as I expected. I have since my recovery waited the arival of the draughts from Rockbridge county,[1] as I had a considerable quantity of Lead &C. to carry down, & before this Instant have never been informed, them people totally refuses going on the command. I shall now set off in a few days & thought absolutely necessary to aquient you, in this way of the accts recd from Capt M°Kee[2] yo 27th last month, on the 16th Sd Instant, Lieut Gilmore[3] was wounded by the Indians a little distance from the garrison, but got in, a soldier going to the place where he was shot at soon after, was Kill'd, immediately they found themselves surrounded on all quarters, & a smart fire on the fort insued,—Capt M°Kee sent out the granadeer squaw to speake to her friends, with a speech from the governor; they made a pretence of makeing peace & scopatha[4] with one more was sent out under cover of the guns, to meet three of them, one of which came into the fort, Capt [M°Kee] apprehended by him he was only trifleing with them in order to get an advantage, & the only thing they larned was

[1] Rockbridge County was formed from Augusta and Botetourt in October, 1777; it took its name from the well-known bridge of natural rock within its limits.

[2] For a sketch of this officer see *Dunmore's War*, 348, note 69. See also his letters in *Frontier Defense*, 194–96, 246–48.

[3] For this officer see *Frontier Defense*, 246, note 2.

[4] This name is usually spelled Scoppathus. He was a Mingo chief who took part in the battle of Point Pleasant.

from Ketty[1] she says there was three hundred that they Intended up the Kenawa, & to Keers creek,[2] that a number were to meet them there, on their return and the garrison they would have, after telling the people in the garrison they might as well surrender for they had Killed all their Cattle, (which is actualy so) out of one hundred, one only is left, which came daily to the fort. I must therefor beg the garrison may get proper supply in time, otherwise we shall be greatly distressed Cap[t] M[c]Kee dispatched two soldiers to give notice of the aproach of the indians on this place, which passed them, at the meadows within 20 miles, the people were in the utmost confusion, every one flying to forst, & no men were imbodyed here, on y[e] 29th may they attacked Col[o] Donnallys fort gaured only with 25 men, who made a brave diffence from sunrise till 3 oclock in the evening when Col[o] Sam[l] Lewis & myself with a party of 66 men, determined to relieve them march'd up, fired on the enemy who give way on every side & let us pass in every man unhurt. seventeen of the Indians were Kill'd dead in the spot. the[y] continued their siege till night when they hall'd nine of their men away, the rem'd we sculped in the morning, they came well aquipped with pack horses and driveing cattle, but the campaign I believe is partly broake up, no mischief has been done since the Battle, three men were kill'd that day, by their imprudance & one shot through a port hole in the fort. as their first attack was voielent & had at first possession of the most of them, but was soon obl[d] to retreat.

I am your Excln[y] Ob[d] Serv[t] MATHEW ARBUCKLE

N. B. Our Garrison is scarse of flints please to send some by the first opportunity, we have also been disapointed in geting our medison from W[m]burg, I hope you'l send some otherwise our surgent will [be] render'd useless to us. M. A.

I Detained this a few Days after I first wrote I heave since concluded to send Serjent Hamon and 3 others in order to take a Boat with provition should you thinke proper to send. Should you thinke proper to shend small peace of keanon I thinke it would Be nesery. M A

[*Addressed:*] On Publick Service His Excellency Edward Hand, Fort Pitt. Pr. Express.

[1] "Katy" (Ketty) was a name given to the Grenadier Squaw. See *Frontier Defense*, 26, note 57.

[2] Kerr's Creek, formerly called Carr's, is in modern Rockbridge County, Va.; the settlements thereon were raided in the French and Indian War and in Pontiac's War.

[Col. William Preston to Col. William Fleming. 2U22. A. L. S.]

June 2d 1778

DEAR SIR:

I recd your Favour by Johny Breckinridge.[1] I hope in God the Prudent and vigourous Measures you have taken to repel the enemy and protect the Country will answer the Purpose, especially if the Militia will be alert and obedient. I cannot express my Anxiety for the People in Greenbrier; I long ardently to hear from them, at the same time that I fear it. My Hopes & Fears for them rise by turns, but I confess the latter often preponderates. I am afraid they have not lead, that their Forts were not finished, that they will be in Confusion & too many Directors at every Post, & that no one Place will be able to withstand the first attack, which no Doubt will be Violent. Heaven Grant, that my apprehensions may be Groundless.

The Detachments from Capt Barnets & the little River Companies will certainly be a great Means to cover the Inhabitants on this Quarter, as well as the Frontiers of Botetourt. The Scouts you ordered out I really believe do their Duty. I hear frequently from them; and I am satisfied their being out is a great Encouragement to the Frontiers both of your county and this. I have others still lower down New River & all along the Frontiers.

I am glad we have but one Master to serve, and he of our own choosing, the Business will go on better & without any Confusion. I agree at present with Colo Stewart that Greenbrier cannot spare fifty men from that Frontier, but I cannot join him in Opinion that fifty Men are enough at Kellys; but how the Deficiency will be supplied, or even the one Company compleated at this Time, I am at a loss to determine. Upon the whole, I suppose the matter must be put off till this storm blows over & things are again quiet; for without a proper Number can be sent to render some essential service to the Country, I cannot conceive of what use it will be to put the State to the expence of sendg a handful.

[1] John Breckinridge, Colonel Preston's nephew, was born near Staunton, Dec. 2, 1760. He was elected to the Virginia legislature before his majority, and later became a distinguished statesman. In 1793 he removed to Kentucky where he had a farm near Lexington. A Democrat of the advanced school, he is said to have drafted the Virginia Resolutions (1798), and introduced the Kentucky Resolutions (1799) into the Kentucky legislature. In 1801 he was elected to the United States Senate, whence Jefferson called him in 1805 to enter his Cabinet as attorney-general. He died at his home near Lexington in 1806.

I should have been glad to [have] seen the Letter you mention, for, from the hints you gave, it seems not to be easily understood.

Had I gone to Botetourt with my Family I should certainly have done myself the Pleasure to have seen you. How Col° Robinson could have come by his Intelligence that I was down, is to me a Mystery; For, to prevent any Calamity of the kind, I solemnly protest that I did not even go out of my own Gate with my Family; nor have I been over the County Line since the 5th of May. I hope, however, to be down about the 18th or 20th if the safety of my Family there will admit me to stay here that long, I then shall endeavour to spend an Evening with you.

There are no men come from Henry or Pittsilvania nor have I any News worth your Notice.

I am Dr Sir Y^r most Obed^t

Wm PRESTON.

[*Addressed:*] On public Service To Col° William Fleming Botetourt By Mr John Breckinridge

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ATTACK ON FORT DONNALLY

[Extract from Hugh Paul Taylor's[1] "Notes," written under pseudonym "Son of Cornstalk." 32S13–18. Transcript.]

The Indians in order to take vengeance for the death of their King Cornstalk and his associates, soon after came to attack the fort at Point Pleasant.[2] This garrison was then commanded by Capt. William M°Kee, the late Col. W^m M°Kee, of Lincoln county,

[1] Hugh Paul Taylor was a grandson of Audley Paul of Augusta County, Va., and a nephew of Col. John Stuart of Greenbrier. He was born about the year 1800 and died at the age of thirty years. Much interested in historical matters, he wrote, in 1829, a series of articles which was published in the Fincastle *Mirror* over the pseudonym "Son of Cornstalk." So far as known these articles have never been republished, and exist only in the transcripts made by Dr. Draper. Taylor was a lawyer and surveyor. In the course of his work on the James River and Kanawha Turnpike, he visited many relatives in Greenbrier County and secured their reminiscences of Revolutionary days. His narrative has not the value of a contemporary record, but it is of interest in preserving details of persons and events—notably of the siege of Donnally's Fort—that are not to be found in contemporary descriptions.

[2] For the location of this post, known during the Revolution as Fort Randolph, see *Dunmore's War*, 310, note 27, and *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 185, note 18; see also references to it in *Frontier Defense, passim.*

Ky. They sent a summons to M°Kee to surrender. M°Kee, knowing that the enemy could easily surround & besiege the fort, & prevent them from obtaining a supply of water, asked only *one night* "to *dream* on the proposed surrender"—this was granted. During that night, while he was *dreaming* (whether with his eyes *open* or not, I am not informed) he had his men busily engaged in carrying water from the river; and when every vessel in the fort, that could hold water, was filled, he then sent word to the enemy, by the Grenadier Squaw, (Cornstalk's sister) his interpreter, "that the Great Spirit had told him in his dream that he ought *not* to surrender." The Indians then began their attack, & kept the garrison closely besieged for about a week, but finding they could neither shoot the whites nor starve them out, they retired.

The enemy, on leaving the fort, did not return homewards, but started up the Kanawha towards Greenbriar. M°Kee sent two men[1] with orders to pass the Indians, & hasten on to Greenbriar, to warn the settlers there of approaching danger. Those messengers soon overtook the enemy, & found them dispersed in groups hunting. After following the Indians some time, the messengers became discouraged, supposing they could not pass through among the Indians, without being discovered, & therefore they returned to the fort.

M°Kee being convinced, that if the Indians should reach the Greenbriar settlement, before the whites were warned of their approach, the settlement would be destroyed. He therefore made a forcible and pathetic appeal to his men, & concluded by asking "who will risque his life to save the people of Greenbriar?" John Pryor & Philip Hammond[2] answered "we will," & stepped forward as volunteers. One of Hammond's friends remarked, that "if he knew the danger of such a tour, he would not sacrifice his life in this way." Hammond is said to have replied to him, in

[1] Their names were John Inchminger and John Logan; according to a pension statement, they returned the same night. See J. T. McAllister, *Virginia Militia in the Revolution* (Hot Springs, 1913), 85, 91.

[2] For Philip Hammond see *Frontier Defense*, 248, note 3. He removed soon after this siege to Kentucky, and later to Alabama, where he died. Draper Mss., 12CC145, 149. John Pryor was from Albemarle County, had served in Dunmore's War, and was stationed at Fort Randolph. According to the pension statement of his brother William, who was the first to volunteer, John was chosen in preference because of his superior knowledge of Indian ways and customs. McAllister, *Virginia Militia*, 84–86. John Pryor was killed and his family carried into captivity during an Indian raid in 1780.

something like the hot language of Ossian's *Cathmor:* "The time of *danger* is the very season of my soul—it swells a mighty stream, and rolls me on the foe."

Pryor & Hammond were dressed in the Indian style; and the Grenadier Squaw, who was then in the fort, & who notwithstanding the murder of her brother and nephew, seemed to be still much attached to the whites, painted Pryor & Hammond in the Indian war style; they then set out, & by travelling night and day, they overtook the Indians on Meadow river,[1] about twenty miles west of Donnally's Fort (now Anthony Rader's Sen[r]) they passed the Indians without being recognized, & arrived at the fort about sun-down. The people of the neighborhood were collected into the fort during that night, (see Col. Stuart's letter.)[2] And Pryor & Hammond, profiting by the example of Capt. M[c]Kee at Point Pleasant, advised the people at Donnally's fort to procure a good supply of water; they did so; a barrel was filled & rolled behind the *door;* & every man who will read Col Stuart's letter, above referred to, will see that *that* barrel of water was largely instrumental in saving the fort, *that* barrel enabled Philip Hammond & *Dick Pointer* to preserve the door from being bursted open until the whole strength of the fort could be brought to bear on the enemy.

The State of Virginia, some years afterwards, very properly purchased Dick Pointer (a negro slave) from his master, & set him free, by an act of the Legislature. He lived in Greenbriar until 1827, when he was gathered to the tombs of his fathers—"full of years and full of honors." No man was more esteemed by his acquaintance than Dick Pointer. I have sat for hours, while a youth, and listened to that *venerable* old gentleman recounting the deeds of yore; when the voice of past times had risen like the sun in his soul, and he felt the joys of other days. His obituary, recorded in the Lewisburg Palladium, testifies the high estimation in which he had been held by his fellow citizens.

[1] For this locality see *Dunmore's War*, 320, note 38.

[2] The following note is appended to the original document:

"We have heard the various particulars of the seige of Donnelly's fort, from those who were in the fort at the time, such as the women being employed in running bullits while the men were engaged in fighting; the Indians making attempts to burn the fort, & the means taken by the whites to defeat their attempts; the Indians getting under the floor of the house, and the whites slipping the loose plank to one side, & shooting down among them, &c. But these are minor particulars, and I suppose not worth detailing, even if I could do it with accuracy, which I suspect I could not."

If we may believe the celebrated speech of "*Mordecai Manassah Noah, Governor and Judge of Israel.*" at the foundation of the new city of Arrarat upon Grand Island, in New York, in 1825, Dick Pointer must have been a remote descendant of Ham, the son of Noah. Dick Pointer, however, was born in America. And Mr Jefferson was so eloquently exposing to merited ridicule the Count De Buffon's & Abbe Reynal's *envious detraction* of the human character in America, by showing that America had produced, among the *whites*, a Washington in war; a Franklin in philosophy; a Rittenhouse in astronomy; amongst the *red men* a Logan & an Openchauconnough; and amongst the *blacks* a Phillis; he might have added, with patriotic pride "*and a Dick Pointer, a citizen soldier.*"

[Portion of the narrative of Capt. John Stuart. 6NN112–18. A. D. S.][1]

The next year 1778 in the month of May a small party appeared in sight of the fort [Randolph], but decamped aparently in great terror, the garrison was aware of their seduction and none pursued them. finding their scheme did not succeed, their whole army rose up at once in sight of the fort, extending across the point from the banks of Ohio to the banks of Kanawha and commenced a fire on the garison for several hours, but without effect; at length one of them had the presumption to advance so near the fort as to request the favour of being permited to come in to which Capt. McKee assented, and the stranger verry composedly walked in. Capt arbuckle was then in Greenbrier on a visit to his family. Not long after the introduction of the stranger a gun went off by accident, the Indians without raised a hideous yell: but the fellow Instantly jumped up in one of the bastions and, giving the sign to his friends that all was well. Finding they could make no impression on the garison they concluded to come on to greenbrier and collecting all the cattle about the Garison for provision on their march set off up the kenawha in ample order to finish their campaign and take vengeance on us for the death of Corn Stalk. Capt McKee discovering their rout, and concludin what was their design; dispatched general Hammon

[1] For the origin and date of this document see *Frontier Defense*, 157, note 19. It is a direct continuation of the portion therein printed.

and John Prior in pursuit of them [with] orders if possable to pass them undiscovered and give the people notice of their approach. This hazerdous enterprize was executed by them with great fidelity the Indians had marched two days before them; but they pursued them with such speed that they overtook and passed them at Mcclungs[1] medows within 20 miles of Lewisbergh; (well known by the name of Camp union) it was in the evening; and Mclungs family had removed farther in among the inhabitants being the frontier house on the way to point pleasant. Here the Indians were regaling themselves and walking about on rising ground near the house viewing the situation of the place and great extensive medows which afford a verry agreeable prospect. From these medows Hammon and Prior had a ful view of the whole of their army undiscovered and pursued on with all speed to Colonel andrew Donnallies,[2] where the[y] gave the alarm [of the] aproach of the Indians consisting according to their last estimate of about 200 warriors. Colo. Donnally lost no time in collecting in all his neighbours that night and dispatched a man to my house to inform me before day 20 odd men including Hammon and Prior was collected and the[y] had the advantage of a stockade fort round the house. There was women and children to the amount of 60 in the fort. On the next day the[y] kept a good lookout in momentary expectation of the Indians. Colonel Sam Lewis[3] was present at my house when we received by Donnallies message and we lost no time to alarm the neighbours and collect as many men as we could at Camp union all the next day. All were busy; some flying with their famelies to the inc[l]osd Settlement and others securing their property so that in the course of the next day we had not collected near 100 men. On the fol-

[1] William McClung had settled at this outpost previous to 1774. *Dunmore's War*, 358.

[2] For a sketch of Colonel Donnally see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 183, note 17. For a more extended sketch by a descendant see *West Virginia Historical Magazine*, July, 1901, 52–64.

[3] Samuel, second son of Gen. Andrew Lewis, was born at the family home near Staunton in 1751. He was sent to Philadelphia to be educated; a description of his school days is given by his comrade, Alexander Graydon, in his *Memoirs* (Harrisburg, 1811), 35–37. In 1772 he took up land in Greenbrier County, and acted as aid to his father in the Point Pleasant Campaign. After his relief of the fort at Donnally's he commanded militia, acted as commissary for troops and prisoners, was at the battle of Guilford, and in 1781 led a regiment to the siege of Yorktown. In 1785 he gave bond for Alexander McClanahan, clerk of Augusta County. He was never married and died about the year 1810 at his brother Andrew's home at Bent Mountain, Va.

lowing day we dispatched two Scouts to Donnely's verry early in the morning who soon returned with inteligence that the Indians had attacked the fort, as the[y] had aproached within about a mile and heard a brisk firing we determined to give all the relief we could to the besieged and collected all the men in the fort that was willing to go which amounted to 68 including Col° Lewis Cap[t] Arbuckle and myself. we drew near Donnally's house about 2 oclock P M but heard no firing; for Sake of expedition we had left the road for a nearer way that led to the back of the house and escaped falling into an ambuscade place on the road not far from the house, which might have been fatal to us as we were greatly inferior to the Indians in point of number.

We soon discovered one Indian in a rye field looking earnestly at the house, Charles Gatliff[1] and myself fired at him and we saw others run in the rye near where he stood. We all run directly to the fort, and the people who at first hearing the guns on the back side of the house supposed it was another party of Indians and were all at the port holes ready to fire on us, but some discovering who we were opened the gates for us and we all got in safe. one man only was shot through a fold of his hunting shirt. When we got to the fort we found 4 men only were killed, 2 who were coming to the fort fell into the midst of the Indians and were killed. A servant of Dunmores [Donnally] was killed before the door on their first attack, and one was shot in a bastion in the fort.[2] the Indians had commenced their attack about day light when all in the fort were fast asleep except the centry, Phil Hammon and an old negro. The house composed one part of the front of the fort and was double Hammon and the negro was in the kitchen and where a hogshead of water against the door The

[1] Charles Gatliff was born in Philadelphia in 1748; shortly before the Revolution he removed with his father, Thomas Gatliff, to the Greenbrier region where the latter was killed by Indians. Charles was in service at Cook's Fort on Indian Creek under Capt. John Henderson. On June 2, 1778 he was appointed a spy and served in this capacity until November, when he removed to Logan's Station in Kentucky. Soon he was chosen scout on Bowman's expedition of 1779; the next year he commanded Martin's Station, but was absent when it was captured by the Indians, his wife and three children being carried into captivity. In 1781 he returned to Virginia and remained there until 1783, when, his family being released from captivity, he joined them and returned to Kentucky. He was out as a spy and pilot on Clark's expedition of 1786; served under Harmar in 1790; and died in Whitley County, Ky., June 30, 1838. His pension statement and letters from descendants are in Draper Mss., 18J102–12.

[2] The names of those killed were John Prichet, James Graham, James Burns, and Alexander Ochiltree. Draper Mss., 2ZZ18.

Indians had laid down 3 guns at a stable about 50 yards from the house and made their attack at the kitchen door with their tomhawks and war clubs when Hammon let the door open and killed the Indian on the threshold who was in the act of splitting the door. the negro had a musket loaded with swanshot and was jumping about on the floor asking Hammon where he would shoot, who told him to fire away among them for the yard was covered as thick as the[y] could stand, which he did and I believe with good effect, for a war club lay in the yard with a swanshot in it. he is now upwards 80 years old has long been abandoned by his Master as well as his wife who is as aged as himself and has made out to preserve a miserable existance for themselves these many years past with their own endeavours; this is the negro whom our Assembly at the last session refused to grant a small pention to support his wretched condition which must soon terminate, on his humble petition suppor[t]ed by certificates from the most respectable men in our country of his meritorious services on that occasion, which was a means of preserving the lives of many citizens then in the house. The firing of Hammond awakened the people in the other end of the house and up stairs where the chief of the men were lying wh[o] fired out of the windows so briskly upon the enemy that when we got into the fort 17 lay dead in the yard. After dark a fellow drew near the fort and called out in the English language that he wanted to make peace and we invited [him] to come and consult on the terms, but he declined our civility. The[y] departed that night but not before the[y] draged off their Slain out of the yard and we never after found where the[y] burried them, nor the[y] never afterwards visited greenbrier more than once or twice in Small parties * * *

DETACHMENT MARCHES

[Gen. George Washington to Capt. John Finley.[1] Washington Papers. Draft.]

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE 4th June 1778

SIR:

You are to proceed in the most expeditious manner, with the party under your command, to Reading, where you will meet

[1] Capt. John Finley was born near Shippensburg, Pa., in 1748. He embarked in the cattle and fur trade on the frontier and in the course of his wanderings ex-

Cap[t] Hutchins of New Hampshire, with three Waggons under his charge. Upon delivering the inclosed to him, he will put the Waggons under your care, and you are to proceed immediately with them to York Town, and upon your arrival there, deliver the Contents of them to the Board of Treasury. You are to wait at York Town with your party untill Col[o] Broadhead with the remainder of the 8th Reg[t] joins you.

I am Sir, Y[r] most ob[t] Serv[t]

[GEORGE WASHINGTON]

P. S. If the Canteens which came from Boston in the Waggons were not left at Easton, they are to be deliv[d] to the Q[r] Master at Reading.

CAP[T] FINLEY

MESSAGE TO THE DELAWARES

[Gen. Edward Hand to Delaware chiefs. 3NN119. Summary and transcript.]

June 5, 1778.

General H[and] addressed a short kind message to Capt. White Eyes, Capt. Killbuck & the council at Cochacking,[1] by John Jones & Tho[s] Nichols,[2] with the important intelligence from France—"the clouds are dispersing, be strong." Sh[d] like that the papers containing the news from France might be sent to Detroit.

plored Kentucky in 1773. Returning to Pennsylvania, where he made his home in what is now Fayette County, he enlisted in the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment as lieutenant, becoming captain in October, 1777. After his career near Pittsburgh, he was transferred first to the Fifth, then to the Second Pennsylvania Regiment, and served throughout the war. Later, he was for several years in command on the Indian frontier, chiefly at Wheeling, whence in 1796 he removed to Upper Blue Licks, Ky., where he died on April 11, 1838. See letters from his son in Draper Mss., 9E14–15; and an interview in *ibid.*, 21S211.

[1] For these chiefs and their council site (Coshocton) see *Dunmore's War*, 29, note 48; *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 38, note 64, and 46, note 73.

[2] The latter is probably Thomas Nicholson for whom see *Dunmore's War*, 13, note 26. John Jones may be the one whose pension statement is in McAllister, *Virginia Militia*, 115; he was born in 1756, served in Dunmore's War, was a regular at Point Pleasant from 1776–77, and acted as scout during 1778–79.

PURSUIT OF INVADERS

[Col. William Preston to Capt. William Robinson. 2U23. A. L. S.]

Sunday about 2 oClock in the Morning June 6. 1778

SIR:

Yesterday three young Men went from here to Palser Lybrooks on Sinking Creek, and about Sunset discovered five or six Indians at Lybrooks Plantation.[1] They also saw signs in other Places where the Enemy were gathering Horses and seven Guns were heard about the middle of the Day by Martin Harless near his Place. Charles Lucas[2] came here just now with the above Intelligence and in order to get assistance to endeavour to fall in with the Enemy while they are gathering Horses. Eight men at least goes from here beside the three that are over & I have sent to Prices, Shulls & James Byrns's[3] for all the men that can be Spared from there to march immediately over to Lucas's to Join what can be spared from that Post to go in search of the Enemy; But as we do not know their number, I would be glad that some more men could be sent in the Morning to reinforce these that goes from this Neighbourhood; and for that reason would beg of you to send all that can be raised in your Company, without loosing a moment, over to Lucas's. There is now a fair Opportunity of doing something, if the Men will turn out and exert themselves with Resolution; the Enemy may at least be prevented from crossing the Mountain and coming into the settlement; but I rather think that a stroke may be made this Day on the Creek.

[1] Sinking Creek is an eastern affluent of New River, emptying into it in modern Giles County, Va. The incident here mentioned is described in Draper Mss., 31S433, by John, son of Palser (or Balser) Lybrook, who was one of the three young men mentioned. He was then about fifteen years old. Having been sent to take charge of some wheat that was being conveyed to Preston's house, they discovered a party of seven skulking Indians whom they eluded with great difficulty, and safely reaching the fort of Lybrook's father, gave the alarm. The Lybrook family was the victim of an attack in 1774, for which see *Dunmore's War*, 134, 140.

[2] One of the Harless family was involved in the Loyalist Plot of 1780. Draper Mss., 5QQ41. Charles Lucas Sr. and Charles Lucas Jr. were guarding a post in this vicinity in 1774. *Dunmore's War*, 398.

[3] The Prices and Shulls were likewise inveigled into the Loyalist conspiracy of 1780; but upon agreeing to enlist in the Continental army their temporary error was pardoned. Draper Mss., 5QQ73, 77. James Byrn was a captain of the Montgomery militia and a local magistrate. *Ibid.*, 5QQ73, 115.

After perusing the above, pray forward it by Express to Cap[t] Barnet who I hope will do all in his Power to raise and send out all the Men from Isaac Taylors[1] upwards that can be spared.

No pains must be spared or a moment of Time lost otherwise this opportunity will be Missed, & we may not perhaps have such another this summer

I am Sir y[r] hble Serv[t]

W[M] PRESTON.

TO CAP[T] WILLIAM ROBINSON.[2]

[Gen. Andrew Lewis to Col. William Fleming. 18J152. Transcript.]

RICHFIELD[3] [V[A]] June y[e] 7th, 1778

SIR:

There are more & more reasons to believe that there are Indians in those parts of our settlements. One was seen last Thursday near Peter Dyarely's & its certain one was seen last Friday on y[e] Cataba.[4] Its reported that eight made their appearance before a small fort at the Sweet Springs[5] last Monday, & that Absolam Looney discovered six the next day on Crags Creek Mountain.[6] Amongst many conjectures in the whirl of my fancy, two seem to be the most likely—the first, that there are some bodye of Indians concealed in our Mountains ready to act by y[e] intelligence those scouts that are discovered may give them; or, secondly, that they are sent in by y[e] large party that got a drubing in order to make alarms, and thereby prevent more men's being

[1] Isaac Taylor served in Dunmore's War, and was wounded by Indians in 1777. He is known to have been captain of the Montgomery militia in 1780. There is a Taylor's Valley, not far from the headwaters of New River in modern Washington County.

[2] Capt. William Robinson lived in the neighborhood of Sinking Creek; he served as a private in 1774. *Dunmore's War*, 94, 135, 408.

[3] For this location see *ibid.*, 149, note 99.

[4] Not the Catawba River of North and South Carolina but a smaller stream, a tributary of Jackson River in Botetourt County.

[5] The Sweet Springs are on a creek of the same name in Monroe County, W. Va., and have long been a popular southern health resort.

[6] Absolom Looney removed from Augusta County in 1771 and settled a valley in the present county of Tazewell, known from his name as Abb's Valley. Before 1778 he had abandoned this exposed frontier, and removed, it would appear, to the vicinity of Craig's Creek, a branch of Jackson River, draining modern Craig County.

sent out, that they may retreat with their wounded with greater security. But least ye former should be ye case, I should be glad to hear that ye men that you expect from Bedford[1] were arrived that diligent sarch might be made, and this could be best done by a number of small partys. I wish it were any way convenient that you could send, if it was only 3 or 4 men for a few days, to me, and my reason at this time for requesting it is: that my sons are to be from me this week—Thos[2] is to attend as a commissioner on Tuesday at ye Court House, and Andrew[3] by appointment is to go to Mr Madison's the same day in order to take him a wife. Those appointments were made before those unhappy alarms. If you have any thing new, please let me have it by Davy. I long to hear something from Saml.

I am Your obed^t^ Servt AND^W^ LEWIS.

To COL. W^M^ FLEMING.

A little Itch ointment for Will's[4] hands would be acceptable.

[1] Bedford County, across the Blue Ridge, directly east of Botetourt, was formed from Lunenburg in 1753, and named for John Russell, Duke of Bedford, a prominent English statesman.

[2] Thomas, third son of Gen. Andrew Lewis, was born in 1756. He served in his brother John's company at the battle of Point Pleasant, probably as a volunteer, since his name does not occur on the muster roll; however, his son told Dr. Draper that the father was in the battle. Draper Mss., 3S312. He also served at the battle of Guilford in 1780. About the year 1785 he removed to Point Pleasant, and entered the Indian trade. Somewhere in Ohio he was captured by Indians, taken to their towns on the Maumee, and saved from torture and death by an Indian known as John Hollis, a boyhood friend, who had accompanied his father on a visit to Virginia thirteen years before. See account in detail in *ibid.*, 7ZZ1–3. In 1789 Thomas Lewis Jr. laid out the town of Point Pleasant and was one of the magistrates of the newly erected Kanawha County, which he afterwards represented in the legislature. He was killed by a falling tree in November, 1800.

[3] Andrew Lewis Jr. was born near Staunton in 1758, and died at his home on Bent Mountain, Roanoke County, Va., in September, 1844. He is said to have greatly resembled his father in person, being tall, large, and stern in aspect. He told Dr. Draper who visited him a month before his death, that he was at the battle of Guilford and for three years (1791-94) in the ranging service. Draper Mss., 32S53. He married Eliza, daughter of John Madison Sr., for whom see *Dunmore's War*, 280, note 98. He inherited a large estate, and his home was a center of hospitality for southern Virginia. He had six children, only two of whom survived him.

[4] William, the youngest son of Gen. Andrew Lewis, was born in 1764, and on his father's death inherited the home estate at Richfield. He married, first, Lucy Madison, sister of his brother Andrew's wife; and second, Nancy McClanahan. In his later life he sold his possessions in Roanoke County including

REQUEST FOR MORE TROOPS

[Gen. Lachlan McIntosh to Gen. George Washington. Washington Papers. A. L. S.]

YORKTOWN Sunday 7th June 1778

SIR:

This is the ninth Day since I have been in York—regularly attending each day upon the Board of Warr, & seem not to be much forwarder in my Expedition than at first—no Stores, arms or amunition provided yet, nor certainty how or where to get them,—A Resolve of Congress passed as early as the 2d May[1] for raising two new Regiments for this very purpose Lies dormant here still, & no attempt made till now towards getting them—nor are my expectations great that they can be raised in so short a time as is expected in the old manner of recruiting & at 20. Dollars bounty pr man, notwithstanding it is only for twelve Months, & upon a favorite Service, whilst every corner of the Continent is Searched for Substitutes at most Extravagant rates.

There are the most distressing accounts from the frontier Settlements by the Inroads & Barbarity of the Savages. The Militia are dispirited & removing, and Genl Hand in a very disagreeable Situation, with about 100 Men at Fort Pitt, unable to give them any asistance.—these circumstances Sir, aford me but a poor prospect of being Serviceable to my Country this Season, already so far advanced, without your Excellency's asistance.—permit me therefore once more to Intreat you to Suffer the two small Regiments commanded by Colo John Gibson, & Lt Colo Butler to March with Colo Broadhead's, & hope you will pardon me if I take the Liberty to urge the necessity of their setting off soon.—witht a respectable military Force the Inhabitants (panick Struck as they are) I doubt will not exert themselves, or have Confidence in any Commander.

I submit to your Excellency, if it will not be necessary to send the bearer Major Campbell back to me again either in the capacity he is now in, or as Lieut. Colonel if he is entitled to it, as the 13th Regiment has no other Field Officer but Colo Russell.—

the plantation known as "Dropmore," and removed to Alabama, where he died near Huntsville.

[1] See *Frontier Defense*, 293–94.

& I have reason to think it would not be disagreeable to himself.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest respect & Esteem Yr Excell^{y} most ob^{t} Hble Servt

LACH^{N} M^{C}INTOSH

HIS EXCELL^{Y} GEN^{L} WASHINGTON.

GOOD NEWS FROM GREENBRIER

[Gen. Andrew Lewis to Col. William Preston. 4QQ173. A. L. S.]

June ye 8th 1778.

SIR:

Inclosed you have a Letter from Col^{o} Fl[eming] and one from Sam. which contains news that sur[passes] the most sanguine expectations. I long to hear fu[rther] from Sam[1]. On Col^{o} Flemings receiving the Letters fr[om] ye Point he came up & had a conferance with with me. he has done everything I think in his power, hi[s letter] to you mentioned ye particulars. The people [this] way cannot be easey after ye discovery of sev[eral] Indians in those parts. One was seen near Dyarleys last Thursday and the Next Day one [was] seen near ye ford of ye Creek at James Neellys,[1] [also] one on Jamisons Plantation on ye Catabo; & Its reported th[at] eight made their apperance before a small [fort] at ye Sweet Springs, this day week, & the next [day] Absolam Louney saw six on his Mountain. What a dismale situation would this country [be] in before this time had not kind Providence B[lessed] us with success in that attempt of Sam's. Have y[ou] any reason to hop[e] for amendment in the cond[uct] of your Militia, are they lost to all sence of [duty] & self preservation. Col^{o} Fleming left 200 Fl[ints] as he thought but on counting them they w[ere] 5 or 6 short. & I have keept 7 which I would not have done had not several of my Fire locks been useless with out that supply. Andrew will carry

[1] James Neeley was an early settler in Augusta County, having bought land there as early as 1749. He seems to have lived on a branch of Roanoke River known as Carvin's Creek, and to have been a neighbor of William McClanahan. Either he or his son James was in a Botetourt company in Dunmore's War, and the younger James was promoted to a captaincy of militia in 1781. Both father and son acted on the Committee of Safety in 1775-76. The younger man held property at Point Pleasant; the father in 1780 witnessed Andrew Lewis' will.

them for you to Mr Madisons Have you got ye reinforcement you wrote for, or [have] you hope of it.

I am Your Obe^t^ Servt

AND^W^ LEWIS.

P. S. Since I wrote ye above Dick is come over from ye Mill shot through the Thigh, he says he saw two Indians & they were so Nigh them that he is Powder burned. Three diffrent partys of Indians are discovered down ye River & towards back Creek.[1]

A. L.

[Col. William Preston to Gen. Andrew Lewis.[2] 4QQ174. Autograph draft.]

DEAR SIR:

Your Favour of the 8th Instant came to hand [Ms. torn] for which I am greatly obliged to you; and tho' I am deeply concer[ned for the] exposed and Dangerous situation of yourself and Family, I would beg leave to congratulate you with the utmost sincerity on two Events. The first is the severe & effectual Stroke our savage Invaders have susta[ined] at their first onset, and the next is that the Dear Youth so nearly [related] to you should plan and execute the Blow. I do not flatter when [I say to] you Sir, that in my Opinion, & indeed in the Opinion of all I have heard [mention] the Matter, he has at once done honour to himself and rendered the [most] Essential service to his distressed Country that ever has been done within my Memory amongst the Inhabitants. May that supreme B[eing] whose Interposition was visible in the Design & Execution of the Enterprise lengthen his Dr Life & make it more & more useful to his Country & Ha[ppy] to himself & his Friends. Had the Enemy carried that Post, as they [most] certainly would, flushed with Victory where would their Carreer have ended Carnage, Burning, Desolation & wretched Captivity must have ens[ued.] what Joy & matter of Triumph to our more than savage Enemies [who] hunts these Blood Hounds on? But praise be to God who has [given] us the Victory, to which I am convinced every one that believes in His Providence will Join their Amen.

[1] There are several creeks of this name in the vicinity of General Lewis' home, the nearest is an affluent of Roanoke, south of the present town of that name—probably the Back Creek here alluded to as "down ye River" Roanoke.

[2] This letter is undated; it is an autograph draft of the answer to the preceding letter, placed upon the backing thereof.

AMMUNITION FORWARDED

[Dudley Digges to Col. William Fleming. 18J151. Transcript.]

IN COUNCIL, W^m^BURGH, June 8th, 1778.

SIR:

His Excellency the Governor being much indisposed & unable to attend this Board, your letter & others accompanying it, were taken this day under consideration. Col° Sampson Matthews,[1] who was present, has received orders for 1200 pounds of gun powder for the use of Augusta, and 800^lbs^ for the use of Rockbridge County, also 2,000^lbs^ of lead for the use of the said county—Augusta not being in want of that last article. We are in hopes that this supply of ammunition will enable the inhabitants to resist the incursions of their savage enemies.

With regard to any thing else, as our operations, for the present, can only be defensive, we recommend to you, & indeed to all other County Lieutenants concerned, to act agreeably to law, in pursuing proper methods to repel any attacks they may have reason to apprehend from the Indians.

The public money remaining in your hands may be apply'd in the manner you propose.

I am, Sir, Your mo. hb^le^ serv^t^,

DUDLEY DIGGES.[2]

TO COL. W^M^ FLEMING.
Bottetourt Co. V^a^

[1] For a sketch of this officer see *Dunmore's War*, 223, note 54.

[2] Dudley Digges was the third son of Cole Digges of York County, Va., a descendant of Edward Digges, colonial governor, 1656-58. In 1748 Dudley was colonel of militia and four years later entered the House of Burgesses, where he served continuously until the outbreak of the Revolution. He was a member of Virginia's Committee of Correspondence, and later of the Committee of Safety; he was in the conventions that formed the state, and was one of its first councillors. He died June 3, 1791.

THE WYANDOT PARTY

[David Zeisberger to Col. George Morgan. 3NN120–21. Transcript.]

COOCHOCKING June 9th 1778.

DEAR SIR:

I and we all were exceedingly rejoiced over the important News contained in the Papers sent by Mr Thomas Nicholas and Jones which I explained to the Council at Coochocking. I had just thought of speaking to the Chiefs to send Messengers to the Fort to inform you how matters are here & likewise to hear how affairs go on down the Country, when your Messengers arrived to my great satisfaction.

I will now acquaint you of what we heard & what is going on in the Indian Country. Since my last we had intelligence from Detroit by Indians who had been there at a Treaty who said that the Governor begun to speak most like the Virginians; & at another time the Govr had told the Indians to leave off striking the Virginians, that they should wait a little, because he expected to get some important news by a vessel which was to arrive soon from Niagara. That he thought peace would soon be restored between England & America.

The Half King of the Wyandotts[1] with all his men & Mingoes with him, a hundred in all, are gone to the fort at Kanhawa; & we heard since that after they killed one white man there & had three of their men wounded, half of his party went home again, & the other half down the river. Twenty eight Munsy warriors[2] a few days ago came to Coochocking to go to war, whom the Chiefs stopped, & the greater part turned home again, except 9 who went down the river.

John Montour who was imprisoned for a considerable time at Detroit till the Mingoes, Wyandottes &c. got him out again;[3] he is now here, & has done much good among the Indians since

[1] The Virginians supposed that the Indian party which attacked the Greenbrier settlements was composed of Shawnee, who were taking vengeance for Cornstalk's murder. This document proves them to have been Wyandot or Huron Indians from Sandusky. For their chief, Half King, see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 91, note 14. See Draper Mss., 4B187 for Daniel Boone's encounter with this defeated Wyandot party.

[2] For the Munsee Indians see *Frontier Defense*, 147, note 11.

[3] For John Montour's imprisonment see *ibid.*, 280–81. A biographical sketch is given in *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 28, note 57.

he came from thence. He spoke everywhere against the Gov[r] [Hamilton], & much in favor of the United States. The newspapers I will send to Detroit by the first opportunity. The enclosed billet I rec[d] yesterday from the Lake will perhaps be of some use to you.[1] Among the Delawares all is quiet and peaceable, they are now in a fair way again. The Messengers will be taken good care of & guided safely to the Fort.

I am Sir, Your very humble Serv[t]

D. ZEISBERGER[2]

Pray Sir be kind enough to [forward] the accompanying Letter with an opportunity to Lancaster.

COL[o] GEORGE MORGAN[3]

[Capt. White Eyes and John Killbuck to Col. George Morgan. Morgan Letter Book III. Transcript.][4]

COOCHOCKING June 9th. 1778.

Captains White Eyes & John Killbuck's Message to Colonel Morgan—

BROTHER TAIMENEND:[5]

We are exceeding glad you sent the Messengers to us—All the Counsellors & Young Men & all our people thank you for sending us the agreable & rejoicing News that the time cometh nigher when these Clouds which arose over our Heads will now soon be dispersed & seen no more.—

[1] The enclosed note was as follows: "There is a small army of French 150 or 200 men that is for the frontiers, commanded by one M[r] Lemot. I imagine he is for his old hunting ground on Red Stone." Draper Mss., 3NN119. Immediately upon the receipt of this intelligence, June 14, 1778, General Hand warned Archibald Lochry, county lieutenant of Westmoreland. See his letter in Mary C. Darlington, *Fort Pitt and Letters from the Frontier* (Pittsburgh, 1892), 231–32.

[2] For a sketch of Rev. David Zeisberger see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 45, note 71.

[3] For a sketch of Col. George Morgan see *ibid.*, 31, note 59. At the time of this letter Morgan was Indian agent, but having taken a contractor's commission he was in the East more often than at Fort Pitt.

[4] The Letter Books of Col. George Morgan are in the Carnegie Library at Pittsburgh. The editor of the Illinois State Historical Library, Dr. C. W. Alvord, having had complete transcripts made thereof, has kindly permitted the use of them for the purpose of reproducing those letters and documents that relate to the Pittsburgh frontier during the Revolution. All the documents in this volume from Morgan's Letter Books are taken from this source.

[5] For this Indian name of Morgan see *Frontier Defense*, 92, note 56.

We are glad to hear your voice because you tell us to be strong and to hold fast to the Chain of friendship & so we will do till all these dark Clouds are passed over & the Sky is quite clear again.

Brother: You desire to hear what News we have heard here—therefore I will let you know what the Head Chief of the Chipaways[1] from their farthest Towns over the Lakes hath acquainted me of that he came last Spring to Detroit & meeting there with some of his young Men who had been to War with the Wiondots, he reproved them for their folly that they had joined in taking up the Hatchet against the Virginians—The Chief sent the following Message to me—

Grandfather:[2] Take pity on your Grandchildren for I depend only in you therefore what you know that is good for your Grandchildren tell me & what you advise me I will do—

Now Grandfather our Lord & Maker has put us here I now take all the Briars & Thorns out of the Road which is between us, that our Children may pass & repass quiet & peaceably when they go to see one another—

So far his Speech—

Brother: When I was at the Fort last you desired me to speak to the Wiondots which I have done & I found them now more disposed to listen to me than they have been hitherto I therefore persuade myself that if you would speak to them in a friendly manner now they would harken to you.

Brother: You desired to know who of the Nations would take hold of our Chain of Friendship I now acquaint you that I shall go to Detroit in about 9 days where the Governor hath called all his Children to meet When I return from thence I shall come to you and inform you of all what I have heard & seen & then I also shall know who will go with me to Fort Pitt—

The Shawnese desired me to let you know that they will join their Grandfather in coming to the Treaty at the appointed time Some of them will go with me to Detroit & Messengers also will go to Miami River where the rest of their people is, to invite them likewise.

Brother: Be assured of our Love & Friendship for you have made our Hearts glad & strong again.

[1] For this tribe see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 131, note 30.

[2] The Delawares were addressed as "Grandfathers" by all the other tribes; they were supposed to be the parent tribe of Algonquian stock.

SOUTHWEST VIRGINIA EMBODIES FOR PURSUIT

[Sampson Matthews to Commandant at Pittsburgh. 2U24. A. L. S.]

W^m^BURG 9th June 1778

SIR:

The Frontiers of Green bryer has of late, been Infested with the aproach of a Large Body of Indians Supos'd to be conducted by whitemen. they laid siege to Capt And^w^ Donaleys Fort, who was weak & Ill fortified. I have Raised & sent to their Relief 200 men of augusta County. I have also been Informed of a Body of Indians Comming in by the way of the Little Cannaway. Some Time agoe the Indians Kild & Scalped 2 men on the west fork of the Moonangehealah[1] In Consequence of these frequent allarms, the Distress of the Inhabitance is very great. I have therefore ordered fifty men to be added to the 150 ordered out by Genl Hand also For the present have ordered about 80 men to Range on the frontier in Conjunction with those at the Differant Stations. I have also ordered Seven Spies or Scouts to be kept out on the Differant Passes in order to Discover the aproach of the Enemy. all of these Several proceedings I have Communicated to the governor & Council & are aproved of. I hope they will meet with your approbation, as Nothing Less could be done to save the country From Ruin.

I am Sir Your most Humble Servant.

SAMP. MATHEWS.

TO THE COMMANDING OFFICER AT PITSBURG

[*Addressed:*] On Publick Service To The Commanding officer of Fort Pitt pr. Capt Ja^s^ Right.

[Col. Arthur Campbell[2] to Rev. Charles Cummings. 18J77. A. L. S.]

ROYAL OAK, June 10th 1778

SIR:

Yesterday I returned home the Assembly having adjourned until the first Monday in Octr. The Acts passed a list of their titles I here enclose together with an address of Congress to the people of

[1] Probably this is the affair referred to in *Frontier Defense*, 273, 279.

[2] For Col. Arthur Campbell see *Dunmore's War*, 39, note 70.

America, for you to publish agreeable to the resolve. I wish you could make it convenient to preach at the lower Meeting house in this County if it was but a Week day, as the contents of the address is of the most interesting nature both as to the morals and political conduct of the good people of America. Providence is daily working out strange deliverances for us, the Treatys with France is much more advantageous than the wisest men in this Country expected. The Indians the other day was unexpectedly discomfited on Greenbrier, I think the overthrow was some thing similar to what happened in this County about 2 years ago.[1] I must give you the intelligence at full length, as the most hardned mind must see and admire the divine goodness in such an interposition. About the 20th of May a large Body of Indians supposed at least between two & three hundred attacked Fort Randolph at the mouth of ye Kanhawa, but did no further damage than wound young James Gilmore and kill and carry off the Cattle and Horses. The enemy was spoke to from the Fort, a flag was sent out and the Governours Proclamation together with a letter from Col^o^ Fleming and Preston proposing a Treaty was sent out to them. They agreed to give an answer the next day, but instead of doing so marched off for the settlement. Capt M^c^Kee dispatched a messenger to give the people on Green brier notice who providentially got in two days before the Indians, and the whole settlement got into forts. On the 29th the Enemy made a furious attack on a small Fort commanded by Lieu^t^ Col^o^ Donally in which was only 25 Men and 60 Women and Children. The Garrison defended itself gallantly from day light to 4 O'Clock in the afternoon, when Col^o^ Sam. Lewis with seventy Men forced his way thro the Indians into the fort on which the enemy retreated and left seventeen of their number dead on the spot and the number wounded is tho't to be considerable, as the enemy endeavoured to force open the door of a House that led into the fort, got into out Houses, close on the outside and lay under the walls of the fort, sometimes firing thro' the port-holes. our loss in the Garrison was only one Man kill'd and one wounded, the[y] kill'd two Men also near the fort that was coming from another station accidentally, and a Servant lad that went out about day light to get wood. One part of the enemy set out homewards with the wounded and the remainder divided into small parties supposed to plunder. a Body of Men went im-

[1] The latter is probably a reference to the battle with the Cherokee near Long Island on Holston River in July, 1776. See *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 170.

mediately in pursuit of the party that went off with the wounded, from whom there was no accounts on Roanoke as I came along. The Militia of Augusta, Rockbridge and Botetourt turned out with great alacrity to assist their brethern on Green brier on hearing of the enemies approach, some of whom arrived timeous enough to join the party that went in pursuit of the wounded Indians and in three days time after the alarm was given, 800 Men was on their March from only the counties of Augusta and Rockbridge. I am sorry to hear of the backwardness of late of our County, & I hope they don't intend to loose the credit they formerly gain'd by readily turning out in the defence of their Country. In all propability this summer will be the last severe conflict, I wish we would therefore acquit ourselves like men, like freemen, contending for the noblest blessings of Life.

I am with great respect Rev Sir Your most Humble Serv[t]

ARTHUR CAMPBELL.

[*Addressed:*] To The Rev[d] Charles Cummings.[1]

REGULARS FOR FORT PITT

[Gen. George Washington to Gen. Lachlan McIntosh. Washington Papers. Draft.]

HEAD Q[rs] June the 10th 1778

D[r] SIR:

I have been favoured with your Letter of the 7th Instant.

I am sorry to find, that more vigorous measures have not been pursued for promoting the objects of your command. From the apprehensions which seem to prevail, of inroads by the savages and the desire to repel them, I hoped by this, that things would have been in a much better train.

I assure you, Sir, I would willingly give you every justifiable aid from the Army. At present, the situation of affairs will not permit my doing more, than what I have already. The Enemy are yet in philadelphia with a respectable force, and our's but very little if any increased, since you left us. From what reason I shall not pretend to determine, but certainly there is an unaccountable kind of lethargy in most of the states in making up their quotas of men. It would almost seem from their withhold-

[1] For Rev. Charles Cummings see *ibid.*, 81, note 30.

ing their supplies or not sending them into the Field, that they consider the war as quite to an end. Col° Broadhead will march to morrow with his Regiment, and Major [Richard] Campbell in consequence of your request will also set out to serve with you.

On Saturday the Earl of Carlisle Wm Eden Esqre & Governor Johnston arrived at Philadelphia in character of Commissioners.[1] What effect this event will have, on the operations or movements of the Enemy remains to be known. It may retard the evacuation of Philadelphia for some time.

I am Dr Sir with great regard & esteem Yr most Obed^t Servt

[GEORGE WASHINGTON]

TO BRIGAD. GENL M^cINTOSH

DETROIT EXPEDITION PLANNED

[Resolution of Congress. Reprinted from *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1908), XI, 587–89.]

June 11, 1778

The Board of War, to whom were referred the letters from the late commissioners at Fort Pitt, dated 27 April * * * report,

That from the information contained in the above papers, and from other information received through a variety of channels, it appears that the cruelties lately exercised by the savages on the frontiers of New York, Pensylvania and Virginia, are the commencement of an Indian war, which threatens, with extensive devastation, the frontiers of these United States:

* * * * * * * *

That from the account given by Captain White Eyes, a Delaware chief, to the commissioners of Indian affairs lately convened at Fort Pitt, the fortress of Detroit was, during the last winter, in the same defenseless situation it has been in for some years past.

These circumstances, collected from the various papers referred to them, the Board have deemed it expedient to recapitulate, and after an attentive consideration, concur in opinion with the commissioners lately convened at Fort Pitt and at Albany, that a defensive war would not only prove an inadequate security

[1] For a good brief account of the mission of this commission and its failure, see C. H. Van Tyne, *The American Revolution, 1776-1783* (New York, 1905), 231-33, 236, 246-47.

against the inroads of the Indians, but would, in a short time, be much more expensive than a vigorous attempt to compel them to sue for peace: Whereupon,

Resolved, That an expedition be immediately undertaken, whose object shall be, to reduce, if practicable, the garrison of Detroit, and to compel to terms of peace such of the Indian nations now in arms against these states as lie on, or contiguous to, the route betwixt Fort Pitt and Detroit:

That three thousand men be engaged in the service of these states, for the purpose above mentioned:

That Patrick Lockhart, Esqr[1] be appointed to procure provisions, pack-horses, and other necessaries for the army destined for the above mentioned operations:

That the governor and council of the State of Virginia be requested, on the application of the Board of War, or of Brigadier M'Intosh, to call forth such a body of their militia (not exceeding 2,500 men,) as shall be judged necessary to complete the number of men appropriated for this service:

That the sum of nine hundred and thirty two thousand seven hundred and forty three and one third dollars be advanced from the treasury, to the order of the Board of War, to be by them applied towards defraying the expences of the expedition above mentioned:

[Col. William Preston to Gen. Andrew Lewis. 2U25. A. L. S.]

June 14th 1778.

DEAR SIR:

The attempts made by the Enemy in your County are truly Alarming, & indeed I am apprehensive the situation of your Family is Dangerous; and what method can be fallen upon to drive such sculking Parties out of the Inhabitants I am at a loss to determine.

Capt William Madison[2] intending to go to Williamsburg I

[1] For Capt. Patrick Lockhart, see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 155, note 75.

[2] William Strother Madison was the eldest son of John Madison and a son-in-law of Colonel Preston, having married his eldest daughter, Elizabeth. Apparently he was acting at this time as captain of Montgomery County militia. In 1780 he was recommended by Colonel Preston to provide for the British prisoners captured at the battle of King's Mountain. For an estimate of his character see Draper Mss., 5QQ84. The following year he acted as commissary

have wrote a few lines to the Governor recommending it to him to send a further supply of Money to Mr Floyd, who has given security for the performance of the Trust, as also informing him of our Want of Gun powder on this Quarter;

I have likewise mentioned a scheme that a number of young men have formed of embodying themselves into a Company or two and marching at their own Expence into the Indian Country & there annoy the Enemy & endeavour for a time to divert them from coming into our Frontiers. I would be much obliged to you for your opinion of this Matter.

Forty Men from Henry came here yesterday & this morning I sent them to Walkers Creek. I expect more very soon so that I hope to be able to make a better Defence on this Frontier.

I sincerely wish you & your Family safety & am D^r^ S^r^ your most Obed^t^ Servt

Wm PRESTON.

FRENCH OFFICERS FOR THE WEST

[Gen. George Washington to Lieut-Col. Chevalier de Failly.[1] Washington Papers.]

TO THE CHEVALIER DE FAILLY LIEUTENANT COLONEL:

You are to proceed with all convenient expedition to Fort Pitt, and join Brigadier General M^c^Intosh, to whom you will give all the assistance in your power, in any transactions which he may have with the Indians—Mr de la Colombe will accompany you—the affection which the Indians in general have for your nation, may enable you to render great service.

Given at Head Quarters this 13th June 1778.

for the men going out with George Rogers Clark (*ibid.*, 5ZZ96), and in September, 1781, enlisted as a lieutenant in a Virginia artillery company employed in the defense of the state. He died in 1782, leaving two daughters, one of whom, Susanna, afterwards married John H. Peyton; the other, Agatha, married — Garnett. Madison's widow, Elizabeth, lived until 1837; her niece gave Dr. Draper (*ibid.*, 36J187) an interesting estimate of her character.

[1] Chevalier de Failly accompanied Lafayette to the United States and enlisted as a volunteer in the Continental army, Dec. 1, 1776. The following August he received the rank first of major and then of lieutenant-colonel, and joined the northern army under Gates. He was still in service in December, 1778.

ROGERS' EXPEDITION

[Col. David Rogers[1] to General Hand. 2U26. A. L. S.]

June 14th 1778. FORT PITT.

SIR:

agreeable to an order in my favr from the Board of War I must request that you will suply one with two of the New Boats Now made at the Boat Yard, twenty-eight men or as many under as you can spare, Six Months provision for 32 Men but if Meat is scarce 3 Months or 4 Must do, with an order to the oficer Commanding at the Difrent posts to suply my men with Rations till I start if Demanded, which I will not do except in Case of Necessity—also an Order to the Boatbuilder to finish the Boats as I may Direct for the Voyage, Some Guns and Amunition I May want but will not Demand any at present as I will purchase for myself if to be had.

I have the Honor to be Sir, Your Most Obt Humble Servt

DAVID ROGERS

THE HONORABLE BRIGR GEN: HAND.

AMERICAN MESSAGES TO INDIANS

[Gen. Edward Hand to the Delawares. Morgan Letter Book III. Transcript.]

FORT PITT 16th. June 1778.

Brothers, Capt White Eyes, Capt John Killbuck, & the wise Delawares & Shawnese at Coochocking:

I was much rejoiced when I heard the good words you spoke to me by my Messengers John Jones & Thomas Nicholas, & very glad to see two of my Shawnese Friends accompany them to this place.

BROTHERS: As you see that what I told you when we first spoke to you comes to pass, & as you are wise men can perceive that the lies told you by the Governor of Detroit are likely to fall heavy on his own head.

[1] For a biographical sketch of Col. David Rogers see, *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 232, note 75. See also *Frontier Defense*, 278, for his preparation for the Mississippi expedition.

Brothers: You tell me that you imagine if I spoke in a friendly manner to the Wiandots, they would now listen to me.

Brothers: Tho' they have been long astray & listened only to the evil Spirit, the United States are more willing to forgive an injury than to revenge it; therefore if the Wiandots will immediately call in their foolish young men, & send some of their Chiefs with you to the Treaty to be held here next Month we will be ready to take them by the hand & enter into friendship with them.

Brothers: I beg you may tell this to the Wiandots & assure them that if thev refuse it, they will never have another opportunity

Brothers: You may depend that before the Water is again frozen, there will not be an English Soldier at Detroit or Niagara, unless they are Prisoners.

Brothers: I have not had any News from our Grand Army that I can depend on, since I wrote to you last except the arrival of a number of French Vessels with Goods & that many more are near at hand.

Brothers: Every person who comes up says that the English are making ready to go on board their Vessels at Philadelphia & that the French have taken two of the West India Islands from them, but I can't tell you this as true.

Brothers: I desire you may watch the motions of M[r] Lemot[1] & the Canadians under his Command & give me timely notice of his movements the number he has with him, & where he intends to strike if you appoint 10 or 12 of your active young men to do this business they shall have two Dollars p day each from the time you employ them provided they give me good & timely intelligence.

Brothers: I ask this of you as a mark of your friendship, Farewell, & be assured of the good intention of the United States towards you & all friendly Nations.

EDW[D] HAND

[1] This person was Guillaume La Mothe, a British Indian officer, for whom see *Frontier Defense*, 287, note 51.

SOUTHWESTERN VIRGINIA GARRISONS

[Col. William Fleming to Col. William Preston. 4QQ177. A. L. S.]

[June 16, 1778]

D[r] Sir:

Yesterday I had a letter from M[r] D. Diggs, as the Governor could not attend Council. I had wrote, I thot it impossible to fix the Station at Kellys in the Present appearance of an Invasion, to which I had no return, so that I must refer you to the Governors last on that subject a coppy of which I sent you. The Greenbrier Militia perhaps may not go out. do you think fifty men at Kellys will be too few, do you think that it will be more essential for the preservation of the Country to station the fifty Men destin'd for Kellys on Green Brier or elsewhere, or to send them directly to Kellys. as you are to give your oppinion on the destination of these men, I will be much obleedged to you for an Answer as soon as possible, as they will be here this day. The Council write me "As our opperations for the present can only be defensive, We recommend to you and indeed to all other County Lieut[s] concerned to Act agreeable to Law, in pursuing proper Methods to repel any attack they may have reason to apprehend from the Indians." I refer to M[r] Floyd for what is stirring this way, and remain D[r] Sir Your most ob[t] Hble Serv[t]

Will[m] Fleming

[*Addressed:*] On Publick service To Col[o] W[m] Preston, Montgomery Pr favour M[r] Floyd.

[Col. William Preston to Col. William Fleming. 2U29. A. L. S.]

17th June 1778

D[r] Sir:

Your Favour of Yesterday came to Hand by M[r] Floyd in the Evening. In Answer to which, I am of opinion that fifty men only at Kellys, at this time, can answer no purpose for the Defence of the Frontiers, & that they had much better be stationed at some proper Place on Greenbrier; from whence I am Confident no Men

can be drawn at present into a service so distant from their Families & Connexions as that at Kellys will be. I would therefore, recommend it to you to order the Company to be stationed at one or more Places that may be convenient to each other in Green Brier County; That in Case of the approach of any large Body of the Enemy they may be ready to act in conjunction with the Militia of Green Brier or Montgomery as the Service may Require.

I hope to have the Pleasure of seeing you next Week.

I wish you safety & am D^{r} S^{r} Y^{r} most Obed^{t} Servt

Wm PRESTON

BRITISH MESSAGE TO DELAWARES

[Gov. Henry Hamilton and allied Indians to the Delawares. 1H7-9. Contemporary transcript.]

Copy of a Speech sent from the War & Village Chiefs of the Ottawa, Chippewa, Huron, Poutawattamee, & Miames Nations of Indians, to the Delawares by Capt James delivered in full Council of the above Nations.[1]

DETROIT 18th June 1778.

GRAND FATHERS:

We desire you will be attentive to what we say, we speak to you in the name of all our War Chiefs, because they have sometimes found Branches & other obstacles in their War path. We see you tho' you are a great way off. and we observe, you break the branches from the Trees to put in the road, but with heads hung down and tears in your Eyes.

Six Strings of black Wampum.

Grand Fathers: We speak to you in the presence of our Father:[2] we are not like you, we speak from the bottoms of our Hearts, and want to know why the Warriors path has been stopp'd. We

[1] For a full report of the council see *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, IX, 442-58. Captain James was a Delaware chief. The document from which we print this speech to the Delawares was sent by their chief to Fort Pitt, and was secured with the Brodhead papers from the descendants of Colonel Brodhead.

[2] The term "Father," as thus used by the Indians had reference to the British commandant at Detroit, who at this time was Gov. Henry Hamilton. *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 135, note 36.

believe you to be the authors of it. This is the Sentiments of all the war chiefs now round our Father.

We speak to you as one, because when our Warriors went that way, they were obliged to go out of the road, and have sufferd & return'd with tears in their Eyes.

We speak to you also in the name of all the Village Chiefs and desire if you have anything bad in your hearts you will not take it away with you, but leave it behind you. We know you sometimes take your heart to the Virginians, but we beg you will now leave it here where ours are all assembled, and we beg you will have Sense and listen to our Father G[overnor]. Hamilton, as we all do, and obey his Will.

We speak to you once more and beg you will listen, you who have come here with tears in your Eyes. These are the Sentiments of all you see here present, and this is the last time we intend Speaking to you.

A Belt of 8 Rows.

Governor Hamilton then Spoke to the Delawares:

Children: I have but a few words to say to you.

Listen to the War Chiefs & Village Chiefs, who said Nothing but what is true, & who shall never want what the King Orders me to give them.

Observe that tho' some of your foolish people have said that the Hurons alone complained of the roads that lead to the rebells being blocked up and that they alone sent you Belts, All these nations here present think as the Hurons do, and I think the same with all my children here present who have spoke to you. I give you this Belt to carry to your Village and to be sent round to the Delawares that they may grow Wise. I have not forgot the conduct of White Eyes who came with speeches to this Council last year, nor do I forget how I treated him and the Speeches he brought.[1]

I hope my Children the Delawares will be wise that when they come to my Council fire they may see clear, and that I may give them my hand which I refused to White Eyes.

You Cap[t] James took hold of your Father's axe yesterday. hold it fast, be wise, and remember that this Belt I give you repeats the words of all the War Chiefs & Village Chiefs present this day. *A Belt.*

[1] For this incident see *ibid.*, 202.

SOUTHWEST VIRGINIA RANGERS

[Col. Daniel Smith to Col. Arthur Campbell. 9DD17. A. L. S.]

19th June 1778

SIR:

On the 15th Inst in the Evening Wm Ferril was kill'd and scalped by the Indians at his own House, his Family had been luckily removed to the Fort some Time before. I received the Information from Capt Kingkead[1] early the 16th who had then just heard of Mr Ferril's Massacre and seemed very apprehensive more Mischief had been done as many in that settlement were living at their own Homes. He further informed me that he should go directly to the Spot with a Party of Men. I directly despatched a Man to the Rich Lands[2] with orders to the Serjeant there (Capt Edmiston[3] being absent) to range down and join Capt Kingkead with about half the Men at that Station. Yesterday I went to see how they were situated at that Place and likewise to hear from Skeggs's[4] as I expected another party was coming up that Fork of Sandy Cr[5] While I was there the Serjeant who had been to join Capt Kingkead returned with an Account that no more Mischief had been done, that the Indians had gone off towards Sandy Creek, Capt Kingkead having followed them that Way about ten Miles.

I am in much Pain at our situation here. There is not I believe more than forty Men on Duty from Holston on this River at all the Different Garrisons, the officers on Duty all telling me they are not to be got to leave their Homes. They were very badly provided with Provisions, part of what is used has been borrowed from the settlers in the Forts who have it not to spare by the officers on Duty with a promise to repay them when the Com-

[1] Capt. John Kinkead belonged to a prominent Augusta County family. About the year 1771 he removed to Clinch River and was one of the magistrates of Washington County. During the war of 1774 he acted as subordinate officer, was sheriff in 1783, and in 1779-81 improved the eastern end of the Wilderness Road. He is believed to have removed to Kentucky after the Revolution.

[2] Richlands is a valley in Tazewell County on the upper Clinch River.

[3] Capt. William Edmondston, for whom see *Dunmore's War*, 84, note 32.

[4] Henry Skaggs and his brothers, who lived on Maiden Spring Fork of Clinch River. See *ibid.*, 239.

[5] Dry Fork of Sandy River; it heads in Tazewell County near the heads of Clinch River.

missary should come or send a sufficient stock—I wish that Time may come shortly. As Cap[t] Kingkead had followed the Indians but about ten Miles I directed Cap[t] Edmiston to start to day after them and if he can raise provision enough at the Rich Lands and New Garden I have some Hopes he will overtake them and destroy some.

As there is so few Men on Duty from Holston I have still continued on Duty one Division of the Clinch Militia and given Orders to the officers of the Different Stations that they should range if it was only with three or four Men every Day just back of the Settlements up or down to the Station next above or below them or to some appointed meeting Place between two Stations that so the whole Frontier might be ranged over every Day and in all probability any Party of Indians discovered that should elude the Vigilance of the Spies, and in Case of an attack to enlist all the Clinch Militia that can be obtained or are necessary to repel them. I have visited most of the Stations here several Times but have never been all the Way to Blackmores yet, being told the last Time I was at Castle's Woods[1] [Ms. torn] was no men there but the Inhabitants of the Place, and I had good reason to believe Co[l] Shelby[2] would very soon order a Company of Men to that Place & the Rye Cove.[3] I trust my Conduct will meet with your approbation. I am very well pleased with that Part of your Letter wherein you say if I think the Duty's hard you will have me relieved. I shall therefore expect it on the first of July that being the Releive Day. The Good News from the Eastward buoys up my Hopes in a Surprizing manner against Indian Hostilities.

I am Sir Your very Hb[le] Serv[t]

DAN[L] SMITH[4]

[*Addressed:*] To Co[l] Arthur Campbell of Washington. To be forwarded by Cap[t] John Kingkead.

[1] For these posts see *Dunmore's War*, 2, note 3, and 85, note 33.

[2] Col. Evan Shelby, for whom see *ibid.*, 48, note 86.

[3] For this locality see *ibid.*, 3, note 4.

[4] A brief biographical sketch of Col. Daniel Smith is given in *ibid.*, 3, note 5.

NEWS FROM FORT RANDOLPH

[Capt. William McKee to Gen. Edward Hand. 3NN210–13. Transcript.]

FORT RANDOLPH, 21st June, 1778.

SIR:

* * * * * * * *

The Indians attacked this garrison the 16th ult°. Wounded Lieut. Gilmore, & killed one private of my Company. When they found they could do us no more damage of y^t^ sort, they fell to killing the cattle, & left us only one small steer of all the cou[ntry] cattle, & only 3 or 4 cows & a few calves, of above 150 cattle belonging to the people of the garrison: Nor have they left one of the country horses. The number of the enemy by the best estimate we have been able to make by their encampments &c. was near 400. Their scheme appears to have been to draw a party out, w^h^ they must inevitably have cut off, being very advantageously posted in ambush. For this purpose a small party was sent near the fort by whom Mr Gilmore was wounded & the other killed, at two different attempts. But I having had previous notice of their intention of attacking us about that time with a large party, did not send any out, so their scheme was defeated. They were so engaged killing the cattle the remainder of the day, that only a few kept a scattering fire on the garrison, w^h^ we returned. But they kept at too great a distance either to do or receive much damage. We had not the satisfaction of getting any of them, but have the greatest reason for believing that two were mortally wounded, if not killed. When it grew dark one of them came near the garrison, talked as if they wanted peace. I observed to him, he had taken very odd measures to introduce anything of that nature, which he apologized for with their usual kind of sophistry. However, I told him I would let him know the sentiments of Virginia as far as committed to me next morning. He came back in the morning, began to talk, keeping himself under cover. I endeavored persuading him to come nigher, but could not, until I promised if three or four of them would lay aside their arms, they might come near the garrison in safety. I had a speech read to them sent by order of the Governor to be carried to them by Katy: They seemed very well pleased with it; promised to put their men over the Ohio that night, bring back the

horses, & three or four of their headmen came next Morning; but we have seen no more of them since.

I sent two men express to Greenbriar on the night of the 18th. they got as far as the Pocatalico;[1] Next day found that a very large party had gone up the river toward Greenbriar; were divided on each side of the river & in small parties up the small creeks—were fired upon near Red Horse Shoals—[2] so giving up hopes of getting past the enemy they returned. Immediately on their return I sent other two, was obliged to promise them an extraordinary reward, as the attempt was extremely dangerous, & the advantage would be to the inhabitants of Greenbriar of the greatest moment, if the express shd get in before the enemy, which was not impossible. I laid them under instructions to be back, if posible, in 20 days; they have been now gone 30 days & not returned, wh renders us very uneasy.

Got flour sufficient for upwards of 3 months—pork mostly damaged: Have not one grain of salt.

Col. Clark & Capt. O'Hara with their detachments & cargoes arrived safely here the 23d of May, tarried only one day.[3]

Wm McKee.

P. S. Lieut. Gilmore is almost quite well of his wound.

[*Addressed:*] Genl Edward Hand.

[1] Pocatalico River is an eastern affluent of the Great Kanawha which has its sources in Roane County, and flows through Putnam. For description see *Dunmore's War*, 335.

[2] Red Horse Shoals was on the Great Kanawha about eight miles below the Pocatalico, where there is still a village of this name. It seems probable that this locality took its name from the improvement there made in 1774 by Thomas Hogg, who was soon thereafter killed by Indians. *Ibid.*, 114.

[3] Clark's account of his visit to Point Pleasant says that he arrived the day after the attack. James A. James, *George Rogers Clark Papers* (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, VIII), 117, 220-21. But as Clark's letters were written later, and as he says in the *Memoir* that Capt. Matthew Arbuckle commanded at the Point, this letter of Capt. William McKee would appear to give the best evidence of Clark's movements. Clark mentions that McKee urged him to turn aside from his enterprise and use his troops to pursue the Indians up the Kanawha. The wisdom of Clark's refusal is evident, and was justified by the repulse at Fort Donnally.

PLANS FOR RETALIATION

[Gov. Patrick Henry to Col. William Preston. 4QQ178. A. L. S.]

W^m^BURGH June 27th 1778.

SIR:

I am favor'd with yours by Mr Madison & Send by him £1,500 for furnishing provisions I also direct Col^o^ Southall of Henrico[1] to hire a Waggon & send in it 1,500^lb^ powder of the best rifle kind & 5,000 Gun flints. This powder & the Flints to be lodged at Col^o^ Flemings & to be for the general use of the S^o^ Western Frontier.

I greatly approve the Spirit of the young men who are to go to the Enemys Country, & it may be expected by them that any Service they render their Country, they will be paid for. It is bold of the men & commendable; But I must mention that if they go in bodys after they cross Ohio they will be destroyed, as they will be so easily tracked. It seems to be safe for them to keep in bodys while they are on this side of Ohio, because if discovered the Enemy cannot be reinforced as they can near their own Country. If when our men Cross that River they disperse themselves in small Bodys, & proceed towards the Enemy they may be likely to go safely, & intimidate them from coming against our Settlements; or if they do some one or other of the small partys will discover them & give our Settlers timely Notice of the Danger. At the same Time that you are doing all that is possible for defending the Country, it is necessary to keep in View the Treaty which Congress have directed to be held at Pittsburgh the 23^d^ of July with the Shawanese & Delawares.[2] Perhaps this Measure may be defeated if very vigorous offensive operations are carry'd on ag^t^ these Indians at this Time.

[1] Col. Turner Southall was county lieutenant of Henrico at this time. He had served in 1775 on the Committee of Safety, was in the House of Delegates, 1778-84, and the State Senate in 1790, about which time he died. He also served as trustee for the town of Richmond, commissioner for the erection of the capitol, incorporator of the James River Navigation Company, and tobacco inspector at Richmond. He married Elizabeth Barrett; their eldest son, Maj. Stephen Southall, who served in the Revolution, married a niece of Patrick Henry.

[2] On June 4, 1778, Congress passed a resolution that three commissioners be appointed to hold a treaty with the Delaware and Shawnee Indians at Fort Pitt on July 23. Two of the commissioners were to be chosen by Virginia, and one by Pennsylvania.

You will please to understand the several Matters contained in this Letter, as Hints proper for your consideration. On the spot you can better Judge of the necessary Measures than the Executive which resides at such a Distance from the Scene of action. Much therefore, Indeed all that relates to the Volunteers must be submitted to your Discretion as well as every other thing of imediate Concern to the Safety of your County.

I am Sir Y^r^ mo. hble Servant

P. HENRY.

P. S. It is proper to send a Waggon down for the powder & Flints least Col^o^ Southall may not get one. Yours will meet his, if she is sent off. P. H.

INDIAN TREATY PLANNED

[Gen. Edward Hand to Jasper Yeates. 3NN26. Transcript.][1]

FORT PITT, 28th June 1778

DEAR YEATES:

It is rumoured here thro' Colonel Gibson that there is a prospect of your Coming here as a Commissioner to the Treaty to be Opend the 23^d^ of next Month, if so the Inclosed papers relative to Indian Affairs may be Satisfactory. at any rate it will kill a q^r^ of an hour to read them—the Indian Papers, you Indulged me with are in the Trunk the Waggoner Carries down. if you should want them let the lock be pick'd to come at them. at any rate it will be proper to Open it to Air the Valuable Contents. this I forgot to mention to Kitty.[2] the Westmoreland & Monongalia Counties have been much Infested by the Savages, [yet] we have not that Cause to Complain I expected.

After perrusing the Inclosed Papers Please to send them to Mr Geo: Clymer at Wrights Ferry.[3] I would send Him the same by this Conveyance but Paper is not to be had.

[1] This letter is collated with and supplemented by comparison with the original manuscript in the New York Public Library. *Frontier Defense*, 5, note 12. For Jasper Yeates see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 191, note 25. Yeates did not come to Fort Pitt as commissioner in 1778.

[2] Mrs. Edward Hand for whom see *Frontier Defense*, 5, note 13. She had passed the winter with her husband at Fort Pitt, and had returned in the spring to their home in Lancaster.

[3] Wright's Ferry, founded by John Wright in 1730, was on the site of the present Columbia, Pa.

I beg my love to every Individual of your Family. My respects to Mr Shippen's[1] Mr Burd's &c^a^ and Am Dr Yeates very affectionately EDW^D^ HAND

ATTACK ON FORT HAND

[Col. Archibald Lochry to Gen. Edward Hand. 2U34. A. L. S.]

Y^e^ 6th July 1778

D^R^ GEN^L^:

I am sorry to enform you that On Satterday ye 4th Instant the officer Commanding at Legenear[2] was Enformed of a Party of indians falling on a famaly about fore fils [miles] South of that Post On which He Emediately Detached a party to their Relieff But it Being so Late, it was night Before they Reached the Pleace they found the House and Barn in flaims they found one man & a Cheild Kill^d^ and scalped, seven other Persons waise Either Kill^d^ taken Prisoners he Could not Be Possative which at the time He Give me the Enformation from tother Discoverys & tracts of small Partys seen On Different Parts of Our fruntears I Am apprihensive there is a Large Body not far of[f] who Have sent out spyes to see wher they can Get the Best advantage. Harvast is now just at Hand, what few malitia we are able to send out is no more than able to Keep Our forts, & without getting asistance, from your Honnour Or Evacuating all Our Posts & Collecting what Men We Have in a body. I Can see no way of saving any Grain on Our fruntears. your Endulging us with some assistance at this time Will Greatly oblidge the fruntears in Genneral

I Am Dr Genl Your most obd^t^ Humble serv^t^

A^D^ LOCHRY.

[1] Edward Shippen, born in Philadelphia in 1703, died at an advanced age at Lancaster. He was much in the public service as county judge, paymaster of troops, etc., and was one of the founders of Princeton College.

Col. James Burd was the father-in-law of Jasper Yeates, and son-in-law of Edward Shippen. He was born in Scotland in 1726, emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1747, married the following year, and settled in Dauphin County. He had held successively the offices of captain, major, and colonel of colonial militia, and served as such during the early years of the Revolution.

[2] For an account of Fort Ligonier see *Frontier Defense*, 165, note 28.

To Brig[a] Gen[l] Hand.

the Grain Can't Stand Longer than Munday Next without suffering & Be Glad to Know what we may Depend On By the Express.

y[e] 8th Instant An Express just arrived from Fort Hand With Entelligence of Cap[n] Miller and Eight of a party being Killed Near Fort Hand[1]

Signed A[b] Lochry

N B I Have Been Enform[d] By Col[o] Hays & Col[o] Coock[2] of a party of Virginia Malitia that Should [have] Been Here Before this But i[s] not arrived I Am Apprehensive they wont [come] in time for Our Relieff.[3]

[*Addressed:*] On Publick Sarvice, to Brig[r] Gen[l] Edward Hand In fort Pitt By Express.

[Extract of a letter from Gen. Edward Hand to Mrs. Hand. 3NN52. Transcript.]

Fort Pitt 7th July, 1778:

* * * Last Saturday eight people were killed near Ligonier by the Indians, & two or three on the West Fork of Monongahela.[4] * * * The 4th being the anniversary of the Declaration of Am[a] Independence was a day of general festivity here.

[1] For the erection of Fort Hand and a sketch of its importance on the northwestern frontier see *ibid.*, 41, note 83, 82, 97-99. In *Pa. Archives*, VI, 673, is an account of this attack on Fort Hand. Capt. Samuel Miller with a party of nine Continental soldiers was bringing in grain from the neighborhood of the fort on July 7, 1778, when they were surprised by a party of Indians in ambush, and all but two killed. A brief sketch of Captain Miller is given in *Frontier Defense*, 69, note 31.

[2] For Col. Edward Cook see *ibid.*, 110, note 75.

[3] On July 9 General Hand wrote to Col. Archibald Lochry that two companies of Yohogania militia which he had destined for the latter's defense had not arrived, so he would send regulars to aid in protecting the harvesting operations of Westmoreland. July 10 he wrote that Capt. James Sullivan with a party of regulars was to march at once. Darlington, *Fort Pitt*, 232-33.

[4] The three persons killed were Mrs. Freeman at West's Fort on Hacker Creek; Capt. James Booth on Booth's Creek; and William Grundy on Baxter's Run. *Withers' Border Warfare*, 245-47; *Frontier Defense*, 37, note 71.

HAND REPLIES TO McKEE

[Gen. Edward Hand to Capt. William McKee. 3NN122. Transcript.]

F^t^ PITT, 5th July 1778.

CAPT. W^M^ M^c^KEE, OR OFFICER COMD'G AT FORT RANDOLPH:

Y^r^ favor of the 21st ult^o^ came safe; I am glad you escaped the fury of the Savages so well, particularly so, that Mr Gilmore has recovered. Accounts from the Delawares say that you were attacked by 100, chiefly Wyandotts, that they killed one of your men, & had three of their party wounded; that after their talk with you, half returned, & the remainder went lower down the river. From Mr Thomas I learn that 17 of them were killed at Capt. Donnelly's fort.

[EDWARD HAND]

VIRGINIA OPPOSES DETROIT EXPEDITION

[Resolutions of Virginia Council. 13S146. Transcript. See full text printed in *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XXIII, 257–58.]

July 7, 1778

The governor and council of Virginia advise against Genl M^c^Intosh's expedition to Detroit, but authorize him to call on the county lieutenants of Washington, Montgomery, Botetourt, Augusta, Rockingham, Greenbrier, Shenandoah, Berkeley, Frederick, Hampshire, Monongalia, Yohogania & Ohio [for] as many as he may demand to carry on an expedition against the hostile Indians, & chastise them as they deserve.

[Col. William Christian to Capt. Joseph Martin. 1XX36. A. L. S.]

BOTETOURT July 8th 1778

DEAR CAPTAIN:

I heard you were gone out to Fort Henry[1] again & suppose you will be at Chote[2] before this overtakes you; but I have recd no letter from you since I saw you. I have been very uneasy on account of Bailey's being so long in delivering the Indians their Cattle, but I hope it will soon be done now.[3] I cant hear of your being at Williamsburg since you came in, but guess you were not. I have not been down since I saw you nor can I go, until Bayley finishes the Cattle business & settles with me. For Gods sake be of what service you can in forwarding it. The Ammunition to be given fo[r] the Sheep will be sent out this Summer, or next fall, but I dont expect it will be done until I go down. You may tell the Indians, I will get it for them. Genl Howe's Army has certainly fled from Philadelphia and our people are in it. His Army are endeavouring to go through the Jerseys to New York, but it is most generally believed, will be taken as Burgoine was but I have the News, only by travelling People. I expect to hear more about it in ten days & shall write you by the first oppy afterwards. The French are doing great things for us and all is likely to be well. Captain Willing[4] for the United States has taken all the people about the Natches on Mississippi, prisoner; but they are only considered as Prisoners on Parole & have sworn not to act against America; therefore nothing be-

[1] Fort Patrick Henry at Long Island on Holston River, in modern Sullivan County, Tenn., was built in 1776 on the site of an older Fort Robinson which had been built in 1760. It was the rendezvous for the men of Christian's campaign against the Cherokee in 1776, and was strongly garrisoned until after the peace of 1777.

[2] Chote (Chota) was the capital and chief "peace town" of the Overhill Cherokee, the home of Nancy Ward, the Indian woman who warned the settlements of the outbreak of 1776. For her sake this town was spared during Christian's expedition in the fall of 1776. At the Treaty of Holston in 1777 the commissioners had appointed a Virginia agent to reside in the Cherokee towns. This agent, Joseph Martin, was about to return to his quarters at Chote, which was in modern Monroe County, Tenn. The North Carolina agent was James Robertson. *North Carolina Records*, X, 608.

[3] At the Treaty of Holston, July and August, 1777, the Indians were promised goods, cattle, and other articles which Christian was concerned in seeing delivered.

[4] For the career of Capt. James Willing see *Frontier Defense*, 191, note 62.

longing to them is removed, or disturbed. Willing is gone on to Orleans.

An Exped[n] is ordered against the North Western Indians & Detroit. The army to consist of 500 regulars & 2500 Militia. The whole to be commanded by General M[c]Intosh, of Georgia, a Brigadier in the Continental Army. 1500 of the militia are to be raised in 14 Counties around this one. The orders from W[m]burg are not yet come for raising the Militia, nor is it yet known, who are to be the Officers, but I suppose the militia will be formed into Battalions. Pray let me hear from you every opp[y].

I am Sir Your most obed. hble Serv[t]

W[m] CHRISTIAN

[*Addressed:*] To Captain Joseph Martin[1] To the care of M[r] Tho[s] Bayley Fort Henry

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SCARCITY OF FIREARMS

[Col. William Fleming and Col. William Preston to Gov. Patrick Henry. 2U35. Autograph draft signed.][2]

July 8th 1778.

SIR:

Since the repulse of the Indians at Donalys Fort, in Green Brier County, Montgomery & Botetourt have been constantly infested, not only on the Frontiers but in the interior parts of these Counties by the Enemy who have been discovered in many places, at considerable distances, and about the same time in both. we are convinced that spies have penetrated the extent, or nearly so, of both Counties, and from what Judgement we are able to form, they design to make a stroak, considerably within the Frontier settlements if not prevented. The Inhabitants of both [are] mostly collected into Forts, and we are sorry to find that numbers of Our effective Men are not armed, which we can only account for from the Number of Firelocks that were purchased in these parts, for the use of the State & the People being prevented from again supplying themselves, as the Importation from Germany fails the

[1] For Col. William Christian see *Dunmore's War*, 429-30; for Capt. Joseph Martin see *ibid.*, 235, note 64.

[2] This letter is in the handwriting of Colonel Fleming, and is signed by him and by Preston.

Gunsmiths being mostly engaged to work for the Publick. This deficiency has induced us to Apply to your Excellency to get an order for one hundred & fifty riffles, or Muskets for each County as they can be spared from the publick magazine. on any plan your Excellency shall think proper to adopt in the distribution, should you grant our request, we propose sending down for the Arms We forbear particularizing the Murders committed by the Enemy tho they are many at present as it is a desagreeable subject.

And subscribe Your Excellencys Most Ob^{t} Hble Serv^{ts}

W^{M} FLEMING.
W^{M} PRESTON.

To THE GOVERNOR a Coppy

[Extract of a letter from Gen. Edward Hand to Richard Peters.[1] 3NN123. Transcript.]

July 10, 1778.

If there is not a possibility of obtaining lead, I wish we might be indulged with a cargo of bows & arrows, as our people are not yet expert enough at the sling to kill Indians with pebbles.

Captn James Sullivan & 52 off^{rs} & men will march from this garrison this evening for the relief of Westmoreland county.

BOAT BUILDERS FOR THE WEST

[Indenture of Benjamin George Eyre. Morgan Letter Book III. Transcript.]

This Writing Indented made the tenth day of July one thousand seven hundred & seventy eight Witnesseth That Benjamin George Eyre of the Northern Liberties of the City of Philadelphia Shipwright as Agent for and on behalf of the Boat Department in the Continental Army has contracted with the Persons who have signed and sealed the one part of these presents in manner following, to wit, That they and every of them have entred in the Continental Service as Shipwrights & Sawyers respectively to be employed in building of Gun Boats at or near Pittsburgh under

[1] Richard Peters was elected by Congress secretary to the Board of War, June 13, 1776, and performed the duties of this office until December, 1781.

the Command or direction of General M^c^Intosh or Colonel Morgan for the space of six Calender Months from the date hereof and shall and will immediately from hence proceed to Pittsburgh and work at their respective Trades in the service aforesaid during the aforesaid term or space of six Months and shall be paid for their said service at the following rates, to wit, the Foreman at the rate of three Dollars p day—each other Shipwright the sum of thirty pounds p Month and each sawyer the sum of twenty eight pounds p Month—of which stipulated pay each of them has now at the sealing and delivery hereof received one Month's advance, and shall at the time of their departure receive the sum of thirty Dollars each for Travelling Expences from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, and that at their arrival at Pittsburgh aforesaid they shall become intitled to receive during the time of their stay in the service each man one Ration & a half & half a pint of strong Liquor p day—And it is agreed that of every Man's Monthly pay so much as he by an order in writing under his hand shall signify and express or else the sum of Twenty pounds shall be paid monthly at Philadelphia by the said Benjamin G: Eyre or by the Agent of the Boat Department for the time being unto the Wife & Family or Attorney of every person respectively, he receiving the remainder of his pay at Pittsburgh aforesaid from the said Colonel Morgan or the proper Officer for the time being at that Station In witness whereof the said Parties have interchangeably set their hands & seals hereunto dated the day and Year first above written

BENJAMIN G: EYRE Ag^t^ to the Boat Department

Sealed & Deliver'd in presence of us, Jesse Williamson, Thomas Britton

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[Col. George Morgan to Hugh King. Morgan Letter Book III. Transcript.]

PHILADELPHIA July 12th. 1778

To Mr Hugh King,

SIR: You are to proceed with the Carpenters & Sawyers engaged for the Public service to Pittsburgh, & there produce to the Officer commanding in that Department, your Articles of Agreement with this Letter, & you will follow his Orders with respect to the work you & they are to proceed to.

As I have receiv'd the Orders of Congress respecting the building of Boats, the construction whereof General Hand has submitted

to me; & as I shall not be able to leave this City untill toward the latter end of the present Month, it is necessary that I inform you what are my intentions, if approved of by the Commanding General.

All the necessary Plank are engaged at Kirkendall's Saw Mill,[1] & I hope are rafted or otherwise transported to Fort Pitt—but if this is not done, you must apply to the Quarter Master at Pittsburgh, who will give the necessary assistance—If the full quantity of Crooked Timber is not provided, you must cut it in the Woods, as convenient to the Fort as possible; & the Quarter Master will have it transported to the Boat Yard at the Point near to my House.

There are six Arm'd Boats to be built—the dimensions and Construction whereof, M[r] John Boreman will give you in writing from my Book of Carpenter's Accounts—which Boats you will proceed to build & compleat agreable thereto, subject to such alterations as the Commanding General may think proper.

These Boats are the first work you are to proceed to, unless the Officer commanding should require you to repair or build other Boats, in which case you are in every respect to comply with his desires.

In regard to your Quarters, it is my intention that your Company, as well as John Thompson, Alex[r] Craig, & Henry Gibson, who are at present there, shall take possession of the House & Garden I have rented from Major Smallman,[2] now or lately occupied by my Coopers, who are to work in the one end untill I provide another place.

Your Return to the Issuing Commissary for Provisions & Liquors will be sufficient—but I must beg that you give as little trouble as possible, & draw for the whole at a time regularly—including M[rs] Gibson's[3] Rations as she is to cook for the whole, & the Rations of an Attendant on the Boat Yard, to spin Oakum, tend the Pitch Pot, &c, &c,—who you will be pleased to hire either on your Road up, or after your arrival at Fort Pitt, as such a hand is essentially necessary.

For every necessary assistance & advice until my arrival, apply to Cap[t] Joseph Skelton.[4]—make things as easy as possible, and

[1] For this locality see *Frontier Defense*, 277.

[2] Maj. Thomas Smallman was a well-known citizen of early Pittsburgh. *Frontier Defense*, 73, 276.

[3] For this person see *ibid.*, 276, note 33.

[4] Joseph Skelton was Morgan's agent as commissary of stores at Fort Pitt.

use your utmost industry to promote the service—& every thing, to make matters comfortable to you all, shall be done so far as in the power of Yours &c

G[EORGE] M[ORGAN]

NEWS FROM THE EAST

Col. George Morgan to the Delawares. Morgan Letter Book III. Transcript.]

PHILADELPHIA July 12th. 1778

To the wise Delaware & Shawnese Council at Coochocking

BROTHERS: I have been carefull to inform you from time to time of all the material News in this Quarter & how the War has been conducted here between the American & British Armies, until the time of our driving the Enemy out of this City, which they deserted on the night of the 17th. of last Month, & on the 18th. we took possession of it. As the Enemy had not sufficient Ships to carry off more than their sick & wounded men, with the Regt of Anspack, whom they could no longer trust on account of their great Desertions, they determined to march through Jersey to New York—Wherefore General Washington with our Army cross'd over the Delaware at Coriel's, & on the 28th. of June overtook & attack'd General Clinton at the Head of the British Army at Freehold in Monmouth County, where our Army made considerable Slaughter of the Enemy & took a number of Prisoners beside which 960 of the British Soldiers & Hessians deserted with their Arms & have come to this City. The great heat of the weather prevented our Army from taking the whole of the Enemy Prisoners, for they had but twenty miles to run to their shipping, and as the Battle lasted till dark, they took care to run off in the night, & get on Shipboard near Middletown, where their Vessels were prepared to receive them—General Washington is now marching his Army to take possession of New York, which is the only spot of Ground the Enemy now occupy in the Thirteen United States—But Brothers this is not the only good News I have to tell you—therefore listen to me with attention—believe me as I have never deceived you, & make my words public to all our Friends.

Yesterday Monsieur Gerrard[1] Ambassador Plenipotentiary from his most Christian Majesty our most powerfull Ally arrived in this City from France—He came with a Fleet of twenty ships of War, eleven of which are of the Line—that is from 64 Cannon each to 104.—one of 50—2 of 40 & six Frigates, with 3000 Land Forces on board, besides 1300 seamen, 20,000 stand of Arms 50 Field pieces of Cannon & a great abundance of Merchandize

The whole of this Fleet is commanded by the Count d'Estang,[2] and he has with him a considerable number of American Seamen & Captains of Vessels as Pilots—After landing the French Ambassador at our Cape the Fleet proceeded for New York Harbour, & we are in daily expectation of hearing that they have attack'd & taken all the British Ships of War & Transports, & that all General Clinton's Army have surrender'd themselves Prisoners to General Washington.

Brothers: I say I believe this will be the case, because the French ships are more than three times the force of the British—And as open War is now declared between the two Nations, you may be sure the French will not lose so fine an opportunity of conquering the English.

Brothers: The great Affairs which I have related to you have detain'd me here till now; & as Goods are arrived which Congress have directed a supply of to be sent for you to Fort Pitt, I shall not be able to meet you there quite so early as I intended, & you

[1] Conrad Alexandre Gérard, born in Alsace in 1729, was devoted from youth to the diplomatic service, having been secretary of legation at several courts after 1753, and assistant in the ministry of Foreign Affairs at Paris under Vergennes. His younger brother, Gérard de Rayneval, was instrumental in arranging the French alliance with the United States, whereof Gérard was the first representative in America. He arrived July 8, 1778, but spent a large share of the summer on board the French fleet. The winter he passed in Philadelphia, and after a farewell visit to Washington, embarked in the summer of 1779 for France, having received the degree of LL.D. from Yale College. The next year he was councillor at Strasburg, and died in 1790. For an account of his policy concerning the West see Paul C. Phillips, "The West in the Diplomacy of the American Revolution," University of Illinois, *Studies in the Social Sciences*, II, 114-30.

[2] Charles Henri Theodar count d'Estaing (1729-94) saw service in the East Indies during the Seven Years' War, and had rendered himself obnoxious to the English by breaking a parole. His credit with the French government was great until his failure in America, when he was disgraced and removed from office; he was reinstated in 1783 and made admiral in 1789. He was guillotined in 1794 for having disapproved of the execution of the king and the queen.

must not expect to see me until the latter end of August when I hope to bring you more good News.

Brothers: The United States still wish to avoid sending an Army over the Ohio—and if the foolish People who have struck us so often, will grow wise immediately, they may yet avoid destruction—You know Brothers, & I know, that we are not to blame, nor will it be our Faults if we cross the Ohio, & trample them into dust, as we undoubtedly shall do, if they continue their evil deeds—my frequent Messages to them, through you, will be lasting Testimonials of their wickedness, & of the peaceable disposition of the United States—Do speak once more to them, & tell them this News, & our desire of Peace Colonel Gibson will forward this to you by Express from

TAIMENEND.

Col° Gibson will be pleased to desire Mr Boreman to copy this in my Letter Book, & then send it with all the News Papers by Express (cost what it may) to Coochocking & oblige his hum^l^ serv^t^

GEO: MORGAN

DETROIT EXPEDITION ADVISED

[Col. George Morgan to the Board of War. Morgan Letter Book III. Transcript.]

July 17th. 1778.

Much has been said for & against an Expedition to Detroit. Some think it the only remedy against the frequent Incursions of the Indians who infest the Frontiers of Virginia—whilst others say it is impracticable & unnecessary—These recommend different plans for chastising the Nations who are hostile. I am of the former opinion & think that 12 or 1500 regular Troops well provided, with such Voluntiers as would offer & in the proper season would be sufficient for the purpose.

My reasons are—

1st. The Road is practicable.

2d. The Delaware & Shawnese Indians have been influenced (& indeed it has been their disposition) to remain quiet.

3d. Some of them might be induced to join in a well ordered Expedition.

4th. There are no powerful Tribes in or near the Road to or at Detroit to oppose a body of Men.

5th. That Post is in a defenceless state.

6th. It is from thence alone the offending Western Indians are supplied in all their wants & paid for all their Murders.

7th. The possession of this Post will induce all the Tribes to enter into our Alliance through fear & interest.

As to a mere Expedition into the Indian Country, I think there is no Object worthy the risque & expence of a large body of Men. I have seen a List lately deliver'd in to the War Office of Towns which do not exist—the principal Nations there mention'd are not hostile & our Friends are the People who would probably suffer most—

My reasons are—

1st. Last Winter 5 or 600 Men went from Fort Pitt[1] & could find no hostile Indians—but they kill'd Cap[t] Pipe's Brother, a noted friend to the United States, two Indian Squaws, & a little Boy, & took two squaws Prisoners, all Delawares; who in confidence of our friendship were seated about 45 Miles from Fort Pitt, making Salt & hunting for Skins—Whether this was from Ignorance or design I pretend not to say—but the Agent for Indian Affairs fortold to the Commanding Officer & to others, what really happenn'd & on that principle publickly offer'd a reward of 100 Dollars for every Prisoner who should be brought in.

2d. By accounts from the Indian Country so late as June 9th. the Delawares & Shawnese in Union with them not only continue quiet, but friendly—and we do not know that any part of the Shawnese are otherwise.

3d. The Indians who are at present hostile are—

The Mingoes &c. of Scioto	60 Men
The Wiandots of Detroit & Sandusky several small villages	200.
Ottawas & Chipwas, who have intermix'd with the Wiandots—but without the approbation of their respective Nations	40.
Total hostile Indians in the Western Department	300.

[1] The reference is to Hand's "Squaw Campaign" for which see *Frontier Defense*, 215-22.

KENTUCKY THREATENED

[Deposition of William Hancock.[1] 4C79. Contemporary transcript.]

BOONESBOROUGH 17th July 1778

KENTUCKY S.

The deposition of William Hancock, being first [sworn] on the Holy Evangelists, are as followeth to wit. This deponent saith that the 5th of this instant he was in company with twelve Frenchmen in big Chillacotha Town,[2] at which time there was a Grand-Council held with the principal Indians from different Nations. There was considerable presents made them by the French from Detroit two of which was a Captain and an Ensign, and that the[y] informed him, they were a coming at least 200 Men strong against this Garrison. This deponent saith that the Indians informed, they should come 400 strong and offer the English Flag to the Inhabitants and if the[y] refuse the terms, they intend to batter down our Fort with their Swivels, as the[y] are to have four sent them from Detroit, which will be conveyed up the Mawma River, and taken down the Great Miame to the Ohio, and thence up the Kentucky to Boonesborough. This deponant further saith that the French and Indians are intended to lie round the Fort, and live on our Stocks till they starve us out. further this deponent saith not.

Sworn to before me.

RICHD CALLAWAY[3]

[1] William Hancock was born in Goochland County, Va., in 1738. His first military service was in Byrd's Cherokee campaign in the French and Indian War. In 1775 he went out to Kentucky and planted corn, returning to Virginia in the autumn, where he remained two years, when he removed his family to Boonesborough. In February, 1778, he was captured with Boone while engaged in making salt. See *Frontier Defense*, 252. Hancock was adopted by the Indian known as Will Emery, and not subjected to hard usage, but was closely watched to prevent escape. Hearing of the intended invasion of Kentucky he made a desperate effort to get away, and was forced to depart without clothing, with only three pints of raw corn. His strength was nearly exhausted when he reached the vicinity of Boonesborough. He afterwards served in Clark's campaigns of 1780 and 1782, and was at the Blue Licks battle. He retired later to a farm in Madison County, whence in 1797 he removed to Missouri, dying in St. Charles County in 1821.

[2] For this town see *Frontier Defense*, 25, note 56.

[3] Richard Callaway, brother of James, lieutenant of Bedford County, was born in Caroline County about the year 1724. At sixteen years of age he removed

[Daniel Boone to Col. Arthur Campbell or Col. Evan Shelby. 4C80. Contemporary transcript.]

BOONESBOROUGH 18. July 1778

DEAR COL°:

I have inclosed the Deposition of Cap[t] Daniel Boone with that of M[r] Hancocks, who arrived here Yesterday and informed us of both French and Indians coming against us to the number of near 400 which I expect here in 12 days from this. If men can be sent to us in five or Six Weeks it would be of infinite Service, as we shall lay up provisions for a Seige. We are all in fine Spirits, and have good Crops growing, and intends to fight hard in order to secure them I shall refer you to the bearer for particulars of this Country.

I am &c. DANIEL BOON

N. B. The original is in the hand write of M[r] W[m] B. Smith[1] and he first signed his own name, which is the cause I understand of a blunder in the language. A. C.

To C[olo] ARTHUR CAMPBELL or EVAN SHELBY.

PANIC ON THE SOUTHWEST FRONTIER

[Col. William Fleming to Gov. Patrick Henry. 2U37. Autograph draft.]

July 19 1778

SIR:

The 16th Ins[t] I received 1462 lbs. of G: powder and the Flints agreeable to your Excellencys orders. 38 lbs. of the Powder was lost in the Carriage up by the heads of two of the Barrels being loose, this with what was in store before makes 2909 lbs. now in

to what became Bedford, east of the Peaks of Otter. During the French and Indian War he was captain of militia, and afterwards attained the rank of colonel. He first accompanied Boone to Kentucky in the spring of 1775, and in the autumn brought his family to Boonesborough. The following summer his two daughters were captured by Indians but were later rescued. See *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 187. Colonel Callaway was representative for Kentucky County in 1777, justice of the peace, and participant in the big siege of Boonesborough. In 1779 he was chosen trustee of a town, and commissioned to institute a ferry. In preparing the ferryboat he was shot, and instantly killed by the Indians, Mar. 8, 1780.

[1] For this pioneer see *Frontier Defense*, 271, note 28.

my care. Col° Southal desired the Waggon to be loaded down to lessen the expence. I derected the Waggoner to take a load of Country lead left near this. I am since informed he only took the half. should your Excellency think proper the remainder might be lodged here, as there is not 100 lbs. of Lead in store. If you think it necessary, You will please [place] an order for that purpose. I have built a house of squared timber 16 feet by 14. sufficient to hold any Stores necessary to this quarter. Since the Irruption of the Enimy into Green Brier, this County has been, and continues to be greatly alarmed, Every where smal parties are discovered tho they have it daily in their power, they have not as yet done much mischeif. General Lewis, had a Negro shot through the thigh. And the 2^{d} ins. three boys w[ere] scalped on Roanoke four or five miles below Mr. Madison's. I am convinced scarcely a house has escaped being viewed by their spies, from below the Court House to Little River. And from the s° Mountain[1] outwards. the Inhabitants of the exterior parts of the County are secured in Forts, and Families further in have been gathered to houses, where they thought they could make the best defense. The unusual behaviour of the Enemy, their continuing still amongst the Inhabitants their doing so little mischief in murdering people, their neither stealing horses, killing Cattle, nor rifling deserted houses, makes it believed they meditate a heavey stroak. And that they want to get a thorough knowledge of the Country at a future day to carry distruction into the interior parts of it. I never knew such a general Panick amongst the People, Many have fled, And many on the Wing. As at this time I could not draw the Militia from one part, for the relief of another, Harvest being on hand, and two thirds of the County equally exposed, I was obleiged to call on Bedford for assistance, which has prevented much of the Country from being deserted. The Comp^{y} destind for Kellys, is on the Frontiers of G: Brier. As that County could not spare the Men ordered for that Station I derected the Capt to follow the Instructions of the County Lieut. there till further orders. I have a Comp^{y} stationed on Sinking Creek Johns Creek &c. A Comp^{y} Col° Callaway sent me from Bedford,[2] I have dis-

[1] Little River is a southern affluent of New River, in Montgomery and Pulaski counties. South Mountain is a western spur of the Blue Ridge lying east of Lexington and northeast of Fleming's Botetourt home.

[2] Johns Creek rises north of Sinking Creek and flows north and east into Craig's Creek, in Craig County.

For Col. James Callaway see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 173, note 1. His letter report-

tributed for the Protection of the Inhabitants at Kings Fort, on the N° Fork of Roanoke & at Dierlys I have sent some to private houses that were exposed & to which people might fly on an emergency. To Col° Christians, Col° Prestons & General Lewis that gentleman being on his Journy to Pitsburg.[1] Six Men I thought necessary to keep here as a gard for our little magazine, As I was under some Apprehension before this Comp^{y} came over. Should you Approve of this Step Your Excellency will enable me to Act so as to secure both from the Enemy and Evil disposed persons who may be inclined to do mischief. Several persons have Applied to me for G. powder, as they could not be supplied elsewhere on this occasion, I let them take some from the County store at 12/ p. lb. which I suppose will reimburse the State An Account of which I keep. Your Excellency will receive with this a request from Col° Preston & myself in behalf of Montgomery & Botetourt Counties for some fire arms. Should the Council think it reasonable, I wish they might be sent up as soon as possible especially if any men are required from this County for the the expedition rumoured to be on foot. The enclosed from Col° Campbel I was desired to forward by a speedy conveyance. I have been insensibly led to give your Excellence a detail of Minutia, not much to be mended, but perhaps not altogether unnecessary to give an Idea of our Circumstances.

I am Sir &c W^{M} F[LEMING]

MESSAGES FROM THE DELAWARES

[Capt. White Eyes to Col. George Morgan. 3NN124. Transcript.]

CUCHOCKING July 19th. 1778.

BROTHER TAIMENEND:

According to your desire I spoke once more to the Wiondots but am sorry that I must inform you that they will not listen to me any more which they now have told me very plain.

Brother: At a Treaty at Detroit the Nations have agreed to fall upon the Delawares, & the Wiandots are to make the begin-

ing the coming of the Bedford militia is in Draper Mss., 2U33.

[1] Gen. Andrew Lewis was en route to attend the Indian treaty as commissioner. See *post*, 127.

ning. It is always said that we shall not listen to the singing Birds, but now I have listen'd to them, because I believe it to be true. The reason why I believe it is, because two young Delaware men have been there at the Treaty & saw the Tomhawk handed to all the Nations & it was also given to them to carry it to me which I have now to expect soon. It was told at the same time that whosoever would not take the Tomhawk he should be whipped.

I told you Brother before that if I should not take the Tomhawk they would try to force me to it & now the time cometh that they will do this—therefore I desire you to consider & assist me.

Brother: I have always told you that I shall hold fast to our friendship so long as the Sun shall shine & the Rivers run, & so my heart is yet. I still hold fast to our friendship, but you know that I am weak & am in need of your assistance. If you do not assist me now as soon as possible then I shall be ruin'd & destroy'd, but if you will assist me now at this dangerous time then nobody will be able to break our friendship.

A string of white wampum.

Brother: The Prisoners which are brought to Detroit by the Warriors will tell there all what they know & hear—they say that I tell you all what passeth, when Warriors go by here or that they heard I had been at the Fort. I am blamed by the Nations that I betray them, therefore keep all what I tell you secret. These two Messengers I send privately & none of my people knoweth of it but I, because I cannot trust them, but am glad that I can inform you of this by these messengers.

We are afraid that the Road between us is watch'd by the Warriors & therefore not safe for Messengers to travel—but of this the Messengers will be able to give you an account—should you want to send a Message to me some time hence, then appoint a day, time, & place where our & your Messengers are to meet one another, perhaps at Sakunk (Beaver Creek) or where you think proper, that we may get Intelligence from you, for it is very dangerous for your Messengers at this time to come out here—of this let me know your mind likewise by these Messengers.

Brother: This is all I have to say this time. You can easily see that I am frightened & with my people in great danger, therefore consider & remember me for I rely now entirely on your help & assistance.

[David Zeisberger to Col. George Morgan. 3NN124–25. Transcript.]

CUCHOCHUNK July 19th. 1778.

DEAR SIR:

Inclosed you have a Message from Cap[t] White Eyes, you will be cautious enough that it may not be known among the people at the Fort but such as ought to know of it why these Messengers who know nothing of the matter themselves, come to the Fort—for White Eyes & I are blamed & accus'd before the Governor at Detroit for giving you Intelligence of the Affairs in the Indian Country, but I believe all this is the fruit of M[r] M[c]Kee's[1] labour at Detroit. I hope you have been carefull concerning my Person while he was yet at the Fort.

Capt. White Eyes in his speech hath not spoken quite so plain, for which he hath reason enough; but I can tell you that he wisheth an army might come out now—the sooner the better, for its high time. All thoughts of bringing about a peace with the Nations, especially with the Wyandotts, are in vain, & time only is lost; therefore White Eyes thinks, that the only help you can afford him, is to send an army against the Wyandotts &c, except you should know another remedy—that is what White Eyes is in hopes to hear from you either by these Messengers or by others which you shall send to an appointed time & place, if and where an Army is to march in the Indian Country.

A party of 80 Wyandotts, mostly from over the Lake, are gone to Weelunk fort, as much as we know, & many other companies are gone to the settlements.

We are afraid that your Messengers may have had the misfortune to fall into the hands of some Warriors if you have sent out any—that would make the matter worse if the letters should be intercepted & carried to Detroit.

We heard Simon Girty[2] & LaMotte are gone down the river St. Lawrence with as many men as they could spare at Detroit, but have not learnt to what place. The Governor told the Indians that the Passage was stopped & therefore he must open it again. The Trade is also stop'd & no Goods allowed to be brought to Sandusky any more.

The newspapers we had from you last, are sent to Detroit

[1] Capt. Alexander McKee, the Loyalist, who escaped from Pittsburgh in 1778. *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 74, note 3; *Frontier Defense*, 249-56, 274-76.

[2] For this Loyalist see *Dunmore's War*, 152, note 4.

for which I am much obliged to you & we all long very much to hear from you again.

By a Frenchman who came here with the Wyandotts we had intelligence that a company of 40 Indians are gone to watch your boats coming from the Illinois. By all this you will plainly see, there will nor can't be any sort of a Treaty with the Chiefs of the Delawares at Pittsburgh for they dare not venture to go there.

I am Sir, Your obed^{t} hum^{e} serv^{t}

D. ZEISBERGER

To COL. GEORGE MORGAN.

SKULKING INDIANS IN SOUTHWEST VIRGINIA

[Col. Arthur Campbell to Col. William Fleming. 2U42. A. L. S.]

WASHINGTON[1] July 25th 1778

SIR:

You will much oblige me if you could lend me 1000 good flints if you have any in store belonging to the publick, or a lesser number. 1000 was Ordered for this County when I was in W^{ms}burg. But I have not been so lucky as to get them up from Richmond; whatever number you can spare, I will direct to be repaid as the Waggon passes you, that is to bring up our Powder and flints; at present the Militia on duty is in great need, in so much that many has to use such as the[y] can pick up in the Woods. We had an alarm last Week on Clinch, a party of Indians supposed to be about 20 was traced passing between Richland Fort, and ye Baptist Valley[2] three of whom was seen. a Company of the Militia on duty followed, but the Indians scattered on a barren Mountain, and has not yet been certainly discovered, some conjecture they have made back with Horses. If you have any late intelligence

[1] Washington County, formed from Fincastle in December, 1776, was one of the first geographical localities to be named in honor of George Washington. It included when formed the present counties of Washington, Russell, Scott, Smyth, Tazewell, Lee, Buchanan, Dickenson, and Wise. The county lieutenant was Col. Arthur Campbell.

[2] Richland Fort was near the present Richlands on Big Creek of Clinch River in Tazewell County. Baptist Valley, about five miles east, stretches along the west side of the Clinch for some miles.

from Fort-Randolph it will be satisfactory to communicate it. Different accounts has come this way of the feats of the grand Army, the last if true is not much to be boasted of; can it be so, that the famed Gen. Lee[1] is turned traitor to the cause of liberty. please favour me with the certain accounts if you have obtained it.

I am Sir Your mo. Obedient Serv[t]

ARTHUR CAMPBELL.

[*Addressed:*] Col[o] William Fleming, Botetourt

DETROIT EXPEDITION ABANDONED

[Resolution of Continental Congress. 2U41. Printed form, manuscript insertions.]

IN CONGRESS, JULY 25, 1778

1. Resolved, that the expedition against the fortress of *Detroit* be for the present deferred.

2. That Brigadier General *Mackintosh* be directed to assemble at *Fort Pitt* as many continental troops and militia as will amount to fifteen hundred, and proceed, without delay, to destroy such towns of the hostile tribes of *Indians* as he in his discretion shall think will most effectually tend to chastise and terrify the savages, and to check their ravages on the frontiers of these states.

3. That such of the articles as have been already procured for the expedition against *Detroit*, and which are necessary for the incursion against the *Indian* towns, be appropriated for that purpose; and that the Board of War be directed to give the necessary orders on this point.

4. That Governour *Henry* be informed of the determination of Congress with respect to the intended expedition, and that he be desired to furnish General *Mackintosh* with such a number of militia as the General shall apply for, to make up the complement of men destined for an incursion into the towns of the hostile *Indians*.

Extract from the minutes.

CHARLES THOMSON, *Secretary.*

[1] The reference is to the conduct of Gen. Charles Lee at the battle of Monmouth.

TROOPS AND BOATS ON THE FRONTIER

[Summary of number of troops and stations on western frontier, July 25, 1778. Printed in *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XXIII, 338–39.]

Two hundred and twenty-six men in garrison at Fort Pitt, 84 at Fort Randolph, 32 at Fort Hand. There are 699 militia embodied; the residue of the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment about 100; Brodhead's Regiment, 250; total, 1,391.

[Maj. Jasper Ewing's[1] list. 2U32. A. D. S.]

Ret. of Continental Boats, Flats & Canoes, Fort Pitt July 25th 1778

	Boats	Flats	Canoes
Deliv[d] to Capt. O Hara for the Continental Use	2	-	1
To Col. Geo: Roger Clark for the use of the State of Virginia	6	-	-
To Col. David Rogers for D°	2	-	-
In the Q[r] Master's Employ	1	-	-
In the Commissary's Employ	1	-	-
At Fort Pitt	2	-	-
At Fort Randolph	7	-	-
At Fort Henry	7	1	2
At Hollidays Cove	-	-	2
At Reardon's Bottom	-	-	1
Six Miles below Fort Henry	1	-	-
At Almonds Run between Reardon's Bottom and Hollidays Cove	1	-	-
Five Miles below Reardons Bottom	-	1	-
Total	30	2	6

N B. All the Boats between Fort Randolph & Fort Pitt are so open in the seams that it will be impossible to remove them until repaired.

J: Ewing M. R.

[1] For Maj. Jasper Ewing see *Frontier Defense*, 7, note 20.

RELIEF FOR KENTUCKY

[Col. Arthur Campbell to Col. William Fleming. 4C78. A. L. S.]

WASHINGTON July 31, 1778.

SIR:

By the inclosed Copy of a Letter and deposition, will be made known the probable distress of the Garrison at Boonesborough. We have a report that no Militia will be Ordered to join General M^c^Intosh on the Western Expedition. If that Expedition should be dropt this year again, it will be unfortunate for the Western frontier, as by the accounts of the prisoners the Commandant at Detroit has effectually set against us the most vindictive Indian Tribes, & no doubt he profits much in a private way by the plunder of our frontier.

I propose sending Major [Daniel] Smith of this County with some Militia to the relief of Kentucky, will you please to communicate the matter to the Lieutenant of Montgomery [County] who I understand is now in your County and could one Company be sent from that County I think I can raise two out of this, and hope to have them ready to March, from the Neighbourhood of Mockison Gap by the 15th day of August. Should not there be a call for Militia to go on the Expedition I hope the relief of Kentucky, may prove an essential Service. I have sent on the Kentucky packet to W^ms^burg by Express as desired, and expect an Answer will be back this far by the 15th of next Month. Open the Kentucky packet; and please write if you think it proper to the Governor I am apprehensive the Executive Authorities' attention is too much engross'd with the affairs Eastwardly, or else the[y] don't feel for the miseries, that happens on the Western frontier.

I am Sir Your very Humble Servant

ARTHUR CAMPBELL

P. S. Would it not be an oppertunity for an enterprizing officer from Greenbrier or the point [Pleasant], in the absence of the Shawaneses [against Boonesborough] to make an incursion over the Ohio. A Capt and 11 Men from Kentucky went within 5 Miles of Chillacotha lately undiscovered, and return'd safe. [1]

I will be much obliged to you, to send me your sentiments on sending aid to Kentucky. A. C.

TO COLONEL WILLIAM FLEMING Botetourt

[1] This was Boone's raid against the Paint Creek villages

INDIAN CENSUS

[List prepared by William Wilson, Philadelphia, Aug. 4, 1778. Printed in *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XXIII, 345–46.]

MILITARY SUPPLIES

[Order and Receipts. 1SS94. A. D.]

SIR:

Please to let the Bearer hereof Ensign William Leet[1] have twelve pounds of Lead for the use of the Militia Stationd at this place And Oblige Sir Your Humble Serv[t] Sam[l] M[c]Colloch.

Given Under my hand at Vanmeters Fort this 4th Day of August 1778. [SAMUEL MCCOLLOCH][2]

To M[r] ZEPHANIAH BLACKFORD[3] at fort Henry

Rec[d] Aug. 5th 1778 of Col[o] David Shephard[4] three Muskitts & 1 Small Iron Kittle for the use of two Boats Crews under my Command on an Expidition to New orleans in the Sirvice of the State of Virginia.

DAVID ROGERS

FORT HENRY August 6th 1778

Received of Zephaniah Blackford two pairs of hide traces Belonging to the United States for the use of the Boats with me

Received by me DAVID ROGERS

[1] William Leet was a younger brother of Maj. Daniel Leet, a Continental officer. The former served in the militia, and commanded a company on Crawford's expedition. The Leet family lived on Chartier's Creek in the neighborhood of the Boggs family. William Leet's commission as ensign of the Ohio County militia is in Draper Mss., 1SS92.

[2] For a brief sketch of Maj. Samuel McColloch see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 234, note 77. His signature has been cut from the document.

[3] For this officer see *Frontier Defense*, 84, note 52.

[4] For Col. David Shepherd see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 196, note 30.

McINTOSH AT FORT PITT

[Gen. Edward Hand to Mrs. Hand. 3NN52. Transcript.]

F^t^: PITT Aug. 6, 1778:

Genl M^c^Intosh has at length arrived; as he is an entire stranger to the nature of his present command, has requested my remaining a few days to give him some necessary information. All my papers & letters on business are now in his hands for that purpose. The day after to-morrow I hope to set forward to Lancaster.

[Gov. Patrick Henry to Col. William Fleming. 2U43. Printed document signed.]

WILLIAMSBURG, August 6, 1778.

SIR:

By the resolutions of Congress which accompany this, you will perceive that the expedition against Detroit is laid aside; but that, in order to protect the frontiers, the war is to be carried into such of the enemies towns as General Mackintosh shall direct.[1] This measure, so necessary to relieve the distresses of many worthy citizens of this state, I am very desirous to promote; and, in order to assist it in a proper manner, I desire you will draw out so many men from the militia of your county as General Mackintosh may demand, in order to comply with the directions of Congress. You are to take care, as the season is far ad-

[1] McIntosh issued the following orders:

"FORT PITT, Wednesday 19th August 1778

"SIR,

I propose going over the Ohio River, into the Indian Country the first of next Month, and as I am apprehensive I will be disappointed in the Troops I expected, I must request of you to get three hundred of the Militia of your County ready for a march as they will then be ordered with their arms accoutrements &c to this & properly Officered according to Law—either by Draught or otherwise—I will be glad to hear when you are ready, & am Sir Y'r most obt. Serv't

"LACHN MCINTOSH, Com'g Western Dept.

"To COLO LOCHRY Lt. of Westmoreland County

"The men may be continued at the Posts General Hand allowed untill further orders—at the same time I will request you to inform me when their time expires." Joseph H. Bausman, *History of Beaver County, Pennsylvania, and its Centennial Celebration* (New York, 1904), I, 85, note 1.

vanced, that no time be lost to rendezvous the men according to the General's orders; and that every article of equipment which he calls for be furnished in the most speedy and complete manner that circumstances will admit. You are to transmit to me an account of the steps you take in consequence of the orders you may receive from the General, to whom I shall mention the counties that I order to furnish men upon his requisition.

I am, Sir, Your most humble servant,

P. HENRY

THE COUNTY LIEUTENANT OF BOTETOURT

VIRGINIA MILITIA FOR McINTOSH

[Resolution of Virginia Council, Aug. 6, 1778. Printed in *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XXIII, 259–60.]

RELIEF FOR KENTUCKY

[Extract from journal of Executive Council of Virginia. 13S102–3. Transcript.]

Aug. 12, 1778: The Governor having laid before the Board a letter from Colonel Arthur Campbell, & sundry papers from Kentucky, giving information of the French & Indians at Detroit having a design to make an attack upon the Forts in Kentucky, & asking the advice of the Counsel with respect to what had best be done in the matter: whereupon, the letter & papers aforesaid being read & considered, the Board advised his Excellency to give directions to Col. Campbell, County Lieutenant of Washington, to send a number of men from his militia, not under 100 nor exceeding 150, officered in the usual manner, to the relief of the people of Kentucky; also to order them a supply of lead & powder.[1]

[1] Col. Arthur Campbell dispatched three small companies under Captains George Adams, John Snoddy, and Hays, all commanded by Maj. Daniel Smith, for the relief of Kentucky. In all about eighty men arrived at Boonesborough after the siege of that place in September, 1778. As their term of enlistment had nearly expired before reaching Kentucky they stayed but a short time and went back to Virginia. They were anxious to attempt an expedition against

COMMISSIONERS AT FORT PITT

[Gen. Andrew Lewis to Col. William Fleming. 2U44. A. L. S.]

FORT PITT August ye 14th 1778

SIR:

I arived here on the 1st Day of this mo. after being detained several Days by rains & high waters and matters I believe will turn out much as I expected. The Indian Agent at Congress. No Indians Assembled. The Instructions for ye Commissioners not come to hand. My Brother Thos[1] who is with me in room of Mr Walker, & I have wrote Congress, & here we must wait an Answer. By a speech White Eyes has sent to this place, to Mr Morgan ye Agent we larn that at a Treaty held at Detroit all ye Tribes, The Delawars excepted, has received the Hatchet, & promised to use it aganst us, & that he every Day expected the Hatchet sent to his Nation who the other Nations thratned to striek in case they did not except of it, & seemed to intimate that unless they were aided by a sufficient force they would be compeled to act aganst us. This is the prospect we have at present & nothing remains but to prepaire in every quarter for their resception for before the War be carryed in to their Country with a suffician force in vaine will it be to expect any Degree of safety & I am sorry to have it to tell you that there are no force at this place equale to acting in ye offencive way nor even to afford the necessery protection to ye settlements agasent to this Post, no less than 4 or 5 murders has been commited near to this place since I came too it, & ye Enemy has on all ocations got off with Impunity. General M^c^In[t]osh has not above 200 effective men exclusive of Militia who are stationed at small Forts for ye protection of ye Inhabitants. From every circumstance Congress has lay^d^ asid the thought of carrying on ye Expedition this Year, tho they have not given ye General that notice. In a Letter I have wrote General Washington, as well as in the Letter we wrote Con-

the Indian towns, but the officers of the Kentucky militia, Col. Richard Callaway, Col. Benjamin Logan, and others decided it was too late in the autumn for such an undertaking. Daniel Boone, returning to North Carolina to visit his family, met the relief expedition on the Wilderness Road. Draper Mss., 4B252, 57J32; Almon's *Remembrancer*, VII, 340; *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 71.

[1] For Thomas Lewis see *Dunmore's War*, 312, note 30.

gress[1] every Argument, with ye most just representations, are used to have Troops sent to Act in ye offencive way, but in ye meantime I dread ye Consequences will prove fatal to our settlements, God grant that all may be well Your Way, I have had many uneasy thoughts since I left home on ac^t^ of my Familie as well as the Back country in general. I exp[ect] to see White Eyes in a short time & hope to be able to draw some Intiligance from him & if it be such as will make an Express your way necessary you may expect it. I would not stay at this place one day longer were it not some what probable that in some way or other in the confution that things are in I may be of service. At any rate I must wait an Answer from Congress [which] cannot be expected in less than ten days from this time.

I am Your Obed^t^ Servt

AND^W^ LEWIS

WYANDOT MESSAGE

[Baubee to Col. George Morgan. Morgan Letter Book III. Transcript.]

The Wiandot Captain from Detroit his name Bawbee,[2] having had a private Conference with Capt White Eyes, Isaac & William, desired that the following Speech should be sent to Col^o^ Morgan at Pittsburgh in writing.

COOCHOCKING August 16th. 1778

He first addressed himself to Capt White Eyes & those who were present & said—

COUSINS:

Hearken to me what I am going to say to my Brother the Virginian that you may know my Mind—my Heart is like your's but

[1] Gen. John Armstrong, in a letter dated Carlisle, Aug. 25, 1778, writes of a recent letter from General Lewis who "seems of opinion that all the Indian tribes are combined ags^t^ us," that General Hand has lately come down, and will furnish Congress with the needed information. *Pa. Archives*, VI, 717.

[2] Baubee (Bawbee or Baby) was a Huron chief whose name was adopted from that of Jacques Duperon Baby of Detroit. The Indian's aboriginal name was Odinghquanooron. He was friendly to the British during Pontiac's Conspiracy and in July, 1764, signed the treaty at Niagara. He was one of the older and highly respected chiefs, and dwelt on the southeast bank of Detroit River. His son was educated by the Americans. See *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 126, note 21.

I can't help myself nor can I do as I please—I am sitting here now with my whole Heart & wish to hear from my Brother the Virginian if they are determined as I often have heard to go over the Lake or not—When I therefore shall hear that they do not intend to cross the Lake, then I shall immediately drop my Tomhawk & the back nations shall do the same—I shall be very glad to hear of my brother himself & how his Heart is towards me—

Then he spoke to Col° Morgan as followeth—

Brother: I and my Chief Dowayetit over the Lake do not want to go to War if we could help it—I stretch out my hand at this present time towards you & salute you—That you have not crossed the River yet is a proof to me that you are for Peace & this encourageth me to shake hands with you fairly where we shall see & hear one another personally—You now hear my mind, I therefore desire you to tell me your mind likewise & if you intend to go to Detroit—should this be your intention to go there to fight the English, then I beg & desire of you to leave our Towns along the Road unmolested, & they shall all come to you, shake hands with you, & make Peace—Brother, after you have heard me now I wish for nothing so much as to hear from you likewise, but nobody else must know of it at present, because nobody knoweth of this my Speech besides me.

Four Strings of black Wampum.

SITUATION AT DETROIT

[John Leith[1] to Col. George Morgan. Morgan Letter Book III. Transcript.]

August 19th. 1778–

To Col° George Morgan Agent for Indian Affairs, or in his absence any of the other Commissioners—

Sir: This is to acquaint you that I am here at the Moravian Towns, & therefore have thought proper to inform you that I am

[1]John Leith was born in South Carolina, Mar. 15, 1755; while yet a lad he ran away and eventually entered the Indian trade with headquarters at Fort Pitt. In the spring of 1774 he was taken prisoner by the Delawares, and became an efficient interpreter and trader, acting in the employ of Detroit merchants who had a store at Lower Sandusky. In the autumn of 1778 he visited Coshocton, where he married a captive white woman, and went to reside with the Moravians. Thereafter he followed their fortunes until the close of the Revolution. After

ready to join the American forces to Detroit if you see it convenient. I left this Post in the year 1776 as I had left my Effects at the Wiandot Towns, from which I intended to be back again in a short time, but falling in with the Governor he kept me confined, & when taken to Detroit, he both compell'd me to Oath & Security.

But now I have left that Post yet not knowing at the same time whether I could be permitted to come to Fort Pitt, I therefore apply to your Honour if you think it proper to do all the service I can.

I also can inform you of sundry matters that may be of service to the United American States to which I always have been attached.

There is about 70 or 80 Volunteers that has encamped in the Commons at Detroit & about that number of Regulars. The Inhabitants I am pretty well convinced will not at all assist the English at an Army's approaching, I therefore think you will find no difficulty at all without it be from the Indians, which has agreed to strike you as soon as you have cross'd the River.

The Merchants have been very ill treated by the Governor, on suspicion of their inclining to the States. he likewise keeps them in ignorance of all what has happenned between Great Britain & the States. I will only mention to you at present a few of the Merchants who are warm Friends of the States, as also a few of those that are bitter Enemies to the same. Friends to the States are, Obadiah Robbins, James Ver Sythe [Forsyth], Philip Boyle, the Silver smith Fisher's Brother, Graverod, Trumbles, Jerry Cochran, & Jemmy Cochran, & several others.[1] Enemies to the States are, Hayes, Desyoung,[2] Thompson, M[c]Griggar,[3] & several others.

eighteen years among the Indians he came in to Fort Pitt, finally settling in Fairfield County, Ohio, where he died after 1831. See *A Short Biography of John Leith* (Lancaster, Ohio, 1831), reprinted and edited by C. W. Butterfield (Cincinnati, 1883), and again by R. G. Thwaites (Cleveland, 1904).

[1] Most of these were Detroit merchants: Obadiah Robbins had been an employer of John Leith; James Forsyth kept the principal tavern at Detroit; Philip Boyle came to Detroit as sutler in 1761 with the earliest British troops. He also traded at Sandusky, and was one of those recompensed for losses in Pontiac's Conspiracy by the Treaty at Fort Stanwix in 1768. The Graverods were a prominent family—probably this was Gerret, a householder in 1779; Ambrose and Augustin Tromblé (Trumbles) were French-Canadian merchants; Jeremiah Cochran was the hatter of the settlement.

[2] The first-mentioned is Jehu Hay for whom see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 130, note 27; the second is Philip de Jean, for whom see *ibid.*, 148, note 58.

[3] James Thompson, according to the census rolls of 1779 and 1782, was a prominent trader at Detroit. Gregor McGregor was at Detroit as early as

I also will mention to you that Edward Hazel[1] who a few days ago came from War with the Wiandots, would have taken me Prisoner to Detroit, had not my Father[2] & several others of the Delawares hind'red him from doing it.

I humbly request of you now sir to answer me by these Messengers with a few lines & I shall in the mean time stand in readiness to wait upon you at the time you will please to appoint.

I am Sir, Your humble servant

JOHN LEATH

CONDITIONS IN INDIAN COUNTRY

[David Zeisberger to Col. George Morgan. Morgan Letter Book III. Transcript.]

COOCHOCKING August 19th. 1778.

To Col[o] George Morgan

SIR: With the last Message to you from Cap[t] White Eye I forgot to send the String of Wampum mentioned in the Letter which I since deliver'd back again to him & hope it has occasioned no doubt nor alteration in the matter.

Inclosed I send you a Copy of a Message from the Nations & Governor at Detroit to the Delawares at Coochocking which was sent to them in Writings—Likewise the Wiandot Captain's Speech to you deliver'd in a private Conference with White Eyes only & two of my Indians he with his Company of 80 Men brought only two scalps—

By Nimwha the Shawnese Chief[3] who returned a few days ago from the Miami River we have intelligence of an Army of the United States & French which arrived at the Twightwe Nation who had opened the Road for them to Detroit & invited all the Nations to come & shake hands with them & had desired them to let the Army pass unmolested[4] if it be true which we wish to be

1774; in 1778 he was elected a militia captain, and later served as sheriff for the District of Hesse, Upper Canada. His home was at Grosse Point, where he resided as late as 1808.

[1] For Edward Hazel see *Frontier Defense*, 275, note 31.

[2] Leith means his adopted father among the Delawares.

[3] For Nimwha see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 41, note 67.

[4] A report of Clark's capture of Kaskaskia and the Illinois towns, and his invitation to the tribesmen to come to council with him.

so you will know better We had a report here that all the Indians on the West Branch of Susquehanna had been killed by the white people & likewise Job Challoway—William his brother here therefore desireth to know if it be true[1]—Job's Wife which escaped came here & brought the News—

Please to forward the following Letter to my Brother by a safe opportunity by which you will much oblige Sir, Your most humble & obed^{t} serv^{t} D: ZISEBERGER

[David Zeisberger to the Commissioners at Fort Pitt. Morgan Letter Book III. Transcript.]

COOCHOCKING August 25th 1778.

To the Honble Commissioners for Indian Affairs,

HONOUR'D SIRS: Your Letter of the 18th. inst. you have been pleased to favour me with I received by your Messengers, they could not have hit a better time to come here, there being no Warriors on that Road now to our knowledge. I am much obliged for the important News you communicated to me in your Letter as well as by the News papers you sent me, which contain rejoicing News all in our favour—Your Speech & likewise that of Genl McIntosh & Col^{o} Morgan I read & explained to the Chiefs in Council, & acquainted them of the most material News contained in the Papers to their great satisfaction—but when I look'd over all the Papers I found not in them what I was most desirous to see & to hear vizt that an Army was to come out, which at first disheartened me a little while till I heard it privately of the Messengers that it would be done which I wish it might be true—For it is my opinion that there will be no Peace & the Nations will not be quiet until they are subdued & Detroit is taken, and I think this will be the opinion of all who are acquainted with the affairs. The Wiondots over the Lake sue for Peace now as you will see by their Speech sent to you by the last Messengers of which Capt White Eyes will give you more intelligence when he cometh, but it is not in their power to make Peace or to be quiet whilst Detroit remaineth in the hands of the English—It is not above a fortnight that the Delawares have been threatened if they should not join the other Nations & take the Tomhawk they would

[1] The reference is to the exploit of the Paxton boys. William Chilloway was a Moravian convert.

either be forced to it or be destroyed—The Munsies who are the worst of them all have taken the Tomhawk, which neither has been offer'd to them nor have they been forced to take it for they went to Detroit on purpose & fetch'd it that they might go to War—this was the reason they seperated themselves from the Delawares last year & moved about 30 miles higher up towards the Wiandots where they live now—but having heard by some Prisoners which they lately have taken that an Army was to march soon into the Indian Country they begin to fear & think about their safety—The Munsies have always shewn themselves & are yet Enemies to the white people, they ought therefore to be broken & no Chief of their own left them, cast out of the Council & to be deliver'd to the Delawares to be ruled by them, because they are not fit to be ruled by themselves.

At the last Treaty at Detroit all the Nations had joined in the War & the Delawares was left alone who would not join them—Now since we had a report of an Army from the Mississippi—marching to Detroit it made a stop in their progress, but should this prove not to be true & no Army was to come out, then certainly they would begin the War again with more Courage than ever before—of this Capt White Eyes & the Delaware Head men are sensible that this is the only assistance you can afford them in sending an Army to Detroit & if that should not be done they would be in a miserable and dangerous situation.

By the disposition of the Enemy Indians in general it is supposed if an Army comes out, that they will not offer to give them battle, they will fly & hide themselves where ever they can & sue for Peace.

Cap^{ts} White Eyes & Killbuck desired me to remember their Compliments & to inform you that they have been very glad to hear from you, that all what they heard is very agreable to them, that they would call their people together & in four days from this date set of from hence to the Fort where they intend to be the 2^{d} of next Month.

The inclosed I send to your's & Col^{o} Morgan's furthur consideration & am Sirs, Your most obed^{t} & hum^{l} serv^{t}

D: ZISEBERGER.

NUMBER OF INDIANS ON WESTERN FRONTIER

[Extract of an anonymous letter. Reprinted from Almon's *Remembrancer*, VII, 51.]

QUEBEC, Aug. 25, 1778.

There are from 800 to 1000 of these savages now out, murduring the people on the back of Pennsylvania and Virginia.

TRANS-OHIO RAID DISCUSSED

[Col. William Christian to Col. Arthur Campbell. 9DD18. A. L. S.]

DUNKARD BOTTOM September 10th 1778

SIR:

The delay of the Expidition to be carried on under Gen[l] Mactintosh, the advanced Season of the Year, & the Exposed Situation of the Frontier, has induced several Gentlemen to think of an Excursion by way of Fort Randolph. And have concluded that the most effectual way to bring it about, would be to have a meeting of the most convenient Field officers and Delegates, in order to consider the matter, and Petition Government, if the Scheme appears Practicable and advantageous. To that End it is proposed that the Meeting be at Botetourt court house next Tuesday the 15th [Ins]t. I dont expect that the whole of the [Gre]enbrier officers & [Del]egates will attend, but that Col [Ms. torn] with the opinion of the others in Writing. I expect that Col [Ms. torn] Major Crocket[1] & M[r] Trigg will meet this week, and either Write their Sentiments or go down themselves. Col Preston goes down to Botetourt to Morrow and will send Express to Col Bowyer & M[c]Dowal.[2] I hardly expect that the Gentlemen of your County can attend, as the notice is so short, but if their Opinions can be had in writing either separately or collectively, it would have considerable weight with the Gentlemen who will meet. Perhaps you could make it convenient to attend yourself. I intend to be at M[r] M[c]Gavocks with M[r] M[c]Corkle,[3] or here until Mon-

[1] For Maj. Walter Crockett see *Dunmore's War*, 44, note 79.

[2] Col. John Bowyer of Augusta County is noted in *Frontier Defense*, 105, note 64; Col. Samuel McDowell of Rockbridge, in *Dunmore's War*, 25, note 41.

[3] James McGavock was an early settler of southwest Virginia, being magistrate in Botetourt, Fincastle, and Montgomery counties, as his place of residence fell

day morning, It will no doubt Answer to be down any Tim[e] Tuesday as there is a Race to be near Town that Day, which will probably prevent much being done until Evening or next Morning.

Gen[l] Mactintosh's orders of the 27 of August has been brought to Col Matthews desiring 150 of the Augusta Militia to be sent to Fort Pitt; and I understand that he has ordered drafts to be made, in the Counties Northward of Augusta behind the Mountains, so as to make up 1200 Militia. He had at Fort Pitt 200 Regulars, and expected 300 more from Pensilvenia. He had expected the Volunteers said to be raising in Virginia to join Gen[l] Washington. Gen[l] Lewis writes in, that he has no hopes from Treating with Indians at Pittsburg, or to that effect. He had [been there] 27 Days & nothing done. Gen[l] Mactintosh [Ms. torn] [Ma]tthews to send 150 Men to Fort [Randolph] to keep that Place, as the Troops there are soon expected to leave it, their Time being out some time this month or at farthest the 10th of Oct[r] M[r] Matthews has applied to the Gov[r] to be excused from sending these last mentioned Men; and to Order them from Greenbrier, Rockbridge & Botetourt.

Will you be pleased Sir, to enquire what distance it would be from Kentuckey at Boonsborough to Fort Randolph the nearest good way that is known for Men to March? If the Gentlemen concludes to Petition Government an Express will be immediately despatched to Williamsburg that no Time may be lost, And an Ans[wer] I suppose may be expected by the last of this Month.

About 600 Men is the number that has been talked off, for the Excursion I have mentioned; some think there ought to be more: And some suppose that if the Winter should set in before any thing could be done that, that Season would suit as well as any for Men determined, with proper spirit to do good to the Country. The matter was sooner thought off, but any stir in it hitherto, it was feared might interfere with the Expidition already ordered; and it was not known till lately but that he Gen[l] Mackintosh would call for Men Southward of Augusta

[Ms. torn] M[r] M[c]Gavocks, the Evening [Ms. torn] this morning when I wrote the [Ms. torn] Ben Thomas[1] to attend for the Letter

within their respective limits. He was much concerned in the Loyalist Plot of 1780, his house being headquarters for the trial of those attempting to seize the lead mines near Fort Chiswell. James McCorkle was a friend and neighbor, who likewise acted as magistrate and militia officer in the same vicinity.

[1] Ben Thomas lived in the Welsh colony on Reed Creek; in 1780 he was accused of complicity in the Loyalist Plot. Draper Mss., 5QQ68.

[Ms. torn] to Appointment last Night, but he disappointed me. I have now a Prospect that Henry Long will set off from here tomorrow Morning; He promised to come, and to be at your House in the Evening. I am now sorry that I could not procure a Messenger sooner; because it is impossible for Col. Shelbey & Major Bledsoe,[1] either to attend, or to send their Advice at the Time. However as it is possible that the Meeting may continue more than one Day, it would be well to send an Express, to them with this Letter for them to look over (if you can get one) and whatever they write may probably be contrived down to Botetourt before an Express is [sent] in case it is concluded to send one; and it might answer a good purpose by adding weight to the application.

11th Nine OClock in the Morning at Mr Mackgavocks Long is just come & ready to sett off. I have now no hopes of any advice from the other Gentlemen not even Col W. Campbell.[2] But yourself I think might come; and if you can hire a Man at any Rate to proceed to Col W. Campbell to Colo Shelbey & Major Bledsoe; their opinions may still be had in Time before the Express goes to Williamsburg. If it [Ms. torn] M°Gavock will send it [to] the Dunkard bottom[3] from whence it will be forwarded I am afraid it would be too late for you to delay coming, until the Messenger would return from Col Shelbeys. But could you send immediately, He might be back at your House Sunday Evening; and the return could reach Botetourt on Wednesday Evening which would do. I will either leave this Sunday Evening or Monday morning Early; and so get down Tuesday evening.

I am Yr Obed Servt

WM CHRISTIAN

COL. ARTHUR CAMPBELL.

[Col. William Christian to Col. William Fleming. 2U45. A. L. S.]

NEW DUBLIN[4] 10th Sep. 78

DEAR SIR:

I called on Col Preston, and he approved of the Scheme I mentioned to you. But had nearly the same objections you raised.

[1] For Maj. Anthony Bledsoe see *Dunmore's War*, 106, note 53.
[2] William Campbell is noted in *ibid.*, 43, note 78.
[3] For this locality see *ibid.*, 42, note 76.
[4] New Dublin is noted in *ibid.*, 46, note 82.

However we thought the meeting at Botetourt Ct House next Tuesday, proper: accordingly we hired an Express to take a letter to Col [Samuel] Lewis desiring him to collect his Field officers & Delegates & take their opinion in writing and to attend with it. I am trying to get an Express to go to Holston but fear I cant get one I shall get Col Ingles[1] Major Crocket & M[r] Trigg to meet before I go down & either signify their opinion, or go down. I will write a line to your Major by this Conveyance & I presume you'll be pleased to give notice if you can to Cap[t] M[c]Clenachan, Col Skillern[2] & Poag[3]

Col[o] Preston is to go down to morrow & send a letter to Col[o] Bowyer & M[c]Dowall to come up but if I saw any chance I was to write Bowyer. M[r] Gray[4] says he will pass you To morrow, perhaps if you write to Bowyer it could be forwarded quicker than Col Prestons conveyance & should he not get down till Saturday evening it would be late

I am going up to M[r] M[c]Corkle & expect to leave the Bottem on Monday morning & be down at Town Tuesday evening; I shall wait thus long if I can get any chance of sending to Holston. The meeting can do no harm; if the Scheme is dropt or not and all I have spoke to, seems to think well of the Meeting to Talk about it.

I am mighty uneasy about the two Negroes I pray you to remember them, for fear I loose Phebe.

Yours ever
W. CHRISTIAN

[Summary of resolution of the Virginia Council, Oct. 2, 1778. Printed in *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XXIII, 262.]

The expedition into the Indian country from the southwest frontier counties is disallowed.

[1] For Col. William Ingles see *ibid.*, 101, note 46.

[2] Capt. William McClanahan is noted in *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 169, note 93; Col. George Skillern, in *Frontier Defense*, 123, note 84.

[3] Maj. George Poage was the son of Robert, an early settler of Augusta County. He was married in 1754, and settled on James River, in Botetourt County. He was first major, and later (1778) colonel of the Botetourt County militia.

[4] Probably Joseph Grey who was a magistrate and captain of Montgomery County militia in 1780. Draper Mss., 5QQ73.

SUPPLIES FOR McINTOSH

[Capt. Patrick Lockhart to Col. William Fleming. 2U46. A. L. S.]

FINCASTLE Sep^{t} 13th 1778

D^{R} SIR

I have Rec^{d} Pressing orders from Genl McIntosh to forward Immediately all the Provision & Stores to Fort Pitt.[1] I expect all the Horses in a few days & nothing will detain me but the want of Drovers & Pack-Horsemen, most of the Persons who enters as Drovers has not saddles to ride nor can either Purchase or Hire enough for to supply [Ms. torn] & request you to grant me a warrant to Impress as many as will do otherwise I am afraid I cant proceed, you may depend it is the last shift otherwise I would not make the application and no unnecessary use will be made of it. The Gen^{ls} Express was [da]ted 3^{d} Instant at Fort Pitt he mentions no news.

I am Dr Sir your m^{o} ob^{t} Servt

PAT. LOCKHART.

COL. WILLIAM FLEMING.

[*Addressed:*] On Publick Service Col^{o} William Fleming Pr Mr Francis Gullery Express.

TREATY AT FORT PITT

[Negotiations with the Delawares. Morgan Letter Book III. Transcript.]

FORT PITT Septem^{r} 12th. 1778.

In Council—Present

The Honble Andrew Lewis and Thomas Lewis Esq^{rs} Commissioners of the United States

Capt White Eyes Capt Pipe Capt John Killbuck Chiefs of the Delawares

The Honble Brig^{dr} General McIntosh, Colonels Broadhead, Gib-

[1] For a list of forces at Fort Pitt and the neighborhood, and the necessary commissary stores, see *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XXIII, 341-44.

son, Bayard,[1] Cambray,[2] Majors M°Intosh, Vernon,[3] & Amber-

[1] Stephen Bayard was born on the Bohemia Manor of Cecil County, Md., about 1748. He was the great-grandson of Peter, the founder of the American family of Bayards. At the outbreak of the Revolution he enlisted a company in Philadelphia, known from its aristocratic origin as the "silk stocking company." They formed part of the Second Pennsylvania Battalion, Jan. 5, 1776. Early in 1777 Bayard was commissioned major of the Eighth Pennsylvania, and, although wounded at Brandywine, was enabled to continue in service, and on Sept. 23, 1777, was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the regiment. He served on the Fort Pitt frontier from 1778 to the close of the Revolution, several times acting as commander in chief at that point in the absence of Brodhead, Gibson, or Irvine. After the war Colonel Bayard settled at Pittsburgh where he became a prominent citizen. In partnership with Maj. Isaac Craig he bought and laid out the first plat of the town, established a sawmill, a saltworks, and a distillery, and planned the first market house. A part of Pittsburgh has ever since been known from his ownership as Bayardtown. In 1788 he retired from the partnership to a site on the Monongahela, twelve miles above the Forks, where he laid out the town of Elizabeth, named in honor of his wife, the daughter of Col. Aeneas Mackay. At this new site Colonel Bayard embarked in a boat-building industry, thus aiding in the development of the Ohio Valley. Some of the boats for the Lewis and Clark expedition were prepared at his works. On the outbreak of the War of 1812, Madison offered Bayard a commission as major-general, but physical disabilities caused him to decline. He died at Pittsburgh, Dec. 15, 1815. Dr. Draper in 1852 secured the facts about his life from his son, Col. George A. Bayard. See Draper Mss., 9NN227-30.

[2] Louis Antoine Jean Baptiste chevalier de Cambray-Digny was a French officer whose sympathy with the American colonists led him to come to America and offer his services for their cause. He presented his recommendations from Franklin and the Duke de Rochefoucault to the governor of North Carolina, and was employed in the spring of 1778 in erecting the fortifications at Cape Lookout. At the instance of Washington and Lafayette, Cambray was appointed lieutenant-colonel of engineers and annexed to the western expedition of General McIntosh. He planned both Fort McIntosh and Fort Laurens; his letters to his subordinate, in *Pa. Archives*, 2nd ser., III, 244–46, 261, evince great attention to details and a thorough knowledge of his profession. On Oct. 20, 1778, Congress ordered his recall that he might proceed to South Carolina to erect fortifications at Charleston. He left Fort Pitt about Jan. 6, 1779, and upon reaching Philadelphia waited on Congress which advanced him funds. After supervising the Charleston fortifications he was one of the besieged and surrendered as prisoner of war, May 12, 1780. In 1781 he was exchanged and on Oct. 30, 1782, obtained leave of absence to visit France. There he was brevetted major of provincial troops but never served. He was a charter member of the Order of Cincinnati.

[3] Maj. Frederick Vernon was a native of Nether Providence Township, Delaware County, Pa. At the outbreak of the Revolution his father, who was sheriff of the county, embraced the British cause, and a brother, Nathaniel, joined the Loyalist troops. Frederick, on the other hand, enlisted in the Continental service as captain, Jan. 5, 1776; the next year he was transferred to the Fifth

son[1] honour'd the Council with their presence.

The Commissioners address'd the Chiefs as follows.

BROTHERS, THE CHIEFS & WISE MEN OF THE DELAWARE NATION:

The wise Men of the United States have sent us to offer you their friendship—You are a wise people, listen to what we have to say to you, & that it may sink deep into your hearts, & that it may do so, with more attention, we present you with this String.

A String of white Wampum.

Brothers: You know as well as we, the many Treaties that have been held at this place & at many other places, with the Six Nations & Western Indians, in order to engage their friendship & peaceable conduct. These Treaties however solemnly enter'd into, were no sooner concluded, but the Indians or some of them began to break the Peace, by stealing from & robbing our people, killing our Women & Children, & committing other outrageous Acts against the faith of such stipulations. You alone of all the Western Indians seem inclined to hold fast the Chain of friendship, & even in this instance it has contracted some rust of a very dangerous nature. The Paths between us are grown up with Bushes, so that they can scarce be seen, they are bloody, your & our people's bones are scatter'd thro' the Woods, our people stumble over them, black heavy Clouds hang over our heads,—Under these unhappy circumstances we bid you welcome to this Council fire; & to convince you on our parts how desirous we are of removing these evils from you & transferring them to your & our Enemies, we present you with this Belt of Wampum,

Pennsylvania, and in January, 1777, made major of the Eighth Pennsylvania. He served throughout the war. At one time, when visiting at his home near Chester, his brother attempted to arrest him with royal troops; but Frederick resisted stoutly and was permitted to go free. After the war he entered the merchant service and traded to the West Indies. He died on a voyage about 1795-96. He was never married. The Loyalists of the family settled in Nova Scotia.

[1] William Amberson was born Mar. 11, 1755, on board ship from Ireland to America. He first lived in New Jersey, then entered the Indian trade at Pittsburgh. On the outbreak of the Revolution he was commissioned lieutenant in the Eighth Pennsylvania, was wounded at Brandywine, and marched west with McIntosh, for whom he served as adjutant. Later he was muster-master general in the Western Department. He settled at Pittsburgh where he was the first treasurer of Allegheny County. Upon removal to Mercer, Pa., he opened the first store. He became a judge, acting in this capacity for over thirty years. He died at Mercer, Jan. 4, 1838. These facts Dr. Draper obtained from Amberson's descendants. See Draper Mss., 4S1, 8NN98.

by which we open the path between us once more, we wash away the blood that has been spilt on it, we bury the scatter'd bones, dispel the black Clouds, & wipe away the tears from your Eyes, we remove all sorrow from your hearts, that Joy & bright sun of friendship may shine on you with greater lustre than ever.

A Road Belt of white Wampum with a Road & Thirteen United States & Delaware Nation decyphered on each side with black Wampum.

Brothers: We told you before, that the United States had sent us to offer you their friendship, if you accept the offer, they will consider you as their own people; they will give you hold of that bright & extensive Chain that unites them to the great & powerful King of France, by whose friendship & assistance we hope in a little time to trample all our Enemies under our feet. In entering into engagements with the United States nothing will be required of you but what will be for our mutual good & happiness, on such principles that if faithfully adhered to, will secure our future peace whilst the Sun, Moon or the Earth endures. Influenced by such motives it is that the United States stretch out their hands to you. Consider well the offer,—it is of great importance, not only to yourselves, but to your Children & Grand children—take time and give your answer like wise men—We have laid our hearts open to you without reserve, we expect you will act with like candour and openness of heart, & that you may do so, we present you with this Belt of Wampum.

A Belt of white Wampum with the Thirteen United States & the Delaware Nation laying hold of the same with their hands, decyphered in black Wampum.

Brothers: You may remember that in our letters sent to your Towns, (which we presume was the means of the pleasure we now have in conversing & consulting with you) We told you that we were extremely anxious to have such an opportunity, in order to establish a mode in the prosecution of the present Expedition against our common Enemy, as would prove the most effectual in securing & protecting our wise & good friends amongst you from the hostile attempts of those who wish the destruction of you as well as us. You cannot forget the many threats that have been thrown out against you—We are happy in the present prospect we have not only of checking, but chastising our restless Enemies. In order to effect this valuable purpose, evidently calculated for your immediate protection, General M°Intosh who has

the interest & good of your Nation much at heart, cannot reach your Enemy, otherwise than by marching his Army thro' your Country, to which (when we consider you as our friends & Allies) we presume you can have no objection, but on the contrary that you will give him the most evident proofs of your great attachment to our mutual Interest & that he will not have to say that he & his men stood in the gap of danger covering your heads, without some of you being Witnesses of his exertions in establishing Peace & tranquility in the seat of Tyranny, Murder & Rapine. We beg you will take under your most serious consideration this very important matter, & that you will in a friendly, open and candid manner, without the least tincture of Artifice or disguise, give us your sentiments & that as soon as you can make it convenient.

A Belt of white Wampum.

Cap[t] White Eyes rose up & made the following Answer.

Brothers: I am greatly rejoiced to hear what you have now said, the few of your Brethren which you now see, came for that purpose, You may depend on it we shall consider well what you have said to us & return you an answer this afternoon, as we see you are desirous of proceeding on the intended Expedition, which we hopes will be the means of our living in Peace.

September the 13th. In Council—

Captain White Eyes informed the Commissioners, that the arrival of Nimwha a Shawnese Chief, & Cap[t] Wingenam[1] & some other Delawares, had prevented them from attending yesterday agreeable to promise, but that they were now ready, he then address'd the Commissioners in the following Words.

Brothers: We are greatly rejoiced to hear the many good things you have said to us; we return you our hearty thanks, that you have renewed & strengthened the Chain of Friendship which our wise Forefathers made—we also return you our thanks that you have taken pity on us & wiped the tears from our Eyes, that you have set our hearts at ease, after having in a brotherly manner buried the bones of our deceased Relations & removed the cause of our Grief. Brothers, You desired us to consider well what had been said to us, we now inform you we have done so as far as we are capable of judging, but as you are wiser we hope you will consider well for us, by so doing it will be for the advantage of us both.

A Belt of white Wampum.

[1] For this Delaware chief see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 46, note 75.

Brothers: It is customary, where Brethren who consult the mutual interest of their young men, their Women & Children, do undertake any thing that both should join in the work. Yesterday you informed us, you intended to clear the Path between us & you. We now inform you that we join you most heartily in that work, & nothing shall be wanting on our parts; but should our young men fail in their attempts, we desire you not to blame us. We have not concealed anything from you. The bad people who have stopped the Path between us shall see us both hand in hand repairing it.

A Belt of white Wampum with a Road decypher'd in it with black Wampum.

Brothers: Yesterday you desired us to take fast hold & join in the Chain of Friendship, which you informed us was strengthened by the King of France having joined it, Brothers, We now inform you that we & our Grandchildren the Shawnese of the Maquegea Tribe who are settled with us & become the same people, have taken fast hold of it, & are determined never to part the hold, tho' we should lose our Lives. We hope whilst we keep fast hold of it, our young men, our Women & Children will live happy. We have no[w] spoke the sentiment of our hearts without any deceit.

A Belt of white Wampum.

The Commissioners then informed the Chiefs that they would frame the Articles of Confederation, & as soon as they were ready they would acquaint them.

Cap[t] White Eyes then addressed the Commissioners—

Brothers: We now are become one people, the Enemy Indians as soon as they hear it will strike us, we desire that our Brethren will build some place for our old men, Women & Children to remain in safety, whilst our Warriors go with you.

September the 14th. In Council—

The Commissioners & Chiefs met, when the Articles of Confederation and Union were read & explained to them, the Commissioners told them to consider them well, & if any thing was wanting which they might think of, they would add it, & that when they were ready they would return an Answer.

15th.

The badness of the Weather prevented a Meeting.

16th.

The Commissioners & Chiefs met in Council when Cap[t] White Eyes addressed the Commissioners—

Brothers: We have considered well every thing mentioned in the Confederation, we like them well, & we are ready to join you in every thing therein mentioned. We now inform you that as many of our Warriors as can possibly be spared, shall join you & go with you. We are at a loss to express our thoughts, but we hope soon to convince you by our actions of the sincerity of our hearts. We desire you not to think any of our people will have any objection to your marching thro' our Country, on the contrary they will rejoice to see you. We are well pleased to hear that part which relates to our foolish young men in future doing any mischief to one another, we heartily join in it, & shall fully comply with it, & should our own sons offend we shall secure them to be dealt with agreable to the Confederation. We now desire that our young men may be made acquainted with one another & that there may be no distinction between them.

A String of white Wampum.

Brothers: You desired us in the Speech which you made to us yesterday, that if we could think of any thing which might be for the advantage of both of us, that we would mention it. We now request that our wise Brethren in Congress may be inform'd, that it is our particular request that Col[o] John Gibson may be appointed to have the charge of all matters between you & us. We esteem him as one of ourselves, he has always acted an honest part by us, & we are convinced he will make our common good his chief study, & not think only how he may get rich. We desire also that he may have the charge & take care of the Warriors of our people who may join you on the present Expedition. When we were last in Philadelphia, our wise Brethren in Congress may remember we desired them to send Schoolmasters to our Towns to instruct our Children as we think it will be for our mutual interest, we request it may be complied with.

A Belt of white Wampum.

19th.

The Commissioners & Chiefs met in Council when the Articles of Confederation & Union were again read & interpreted to them—they were then asked if they approved of them, to which they returned for answer they did, & were now come to sign them—a triplicate then of the Articles of Confederation & Union was signed

by the Commissioners & Chiefs in presence of the subscribing Evidences; one of which Copies was kept by the Commissioners to be sent to the Honble Congress, another given to the Chiefs, & a third given to Genl M^c^Intosh.[1]

The Commissioners then informed the Chiefs that they had a Present, which was sent by the Honble Congress to them as a Testimony of their regard for them which they should deliver the next day to them.

GARRISON FOR FORT RANDOLPH

[Summary of resolution of the Virginia Council, Oct. 5, 1778. Printed in *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XXIII, 262–63.]

Augusta County petitioned against supplying a quota of 150 militia for Fort Randolph. By a resolution of the Virginia Council, Oct. 5, 1778, this contingent was to be raised in Rockbridge, Botetourt, and Montgomery counties.

PREPARATIONS FOR AN EXPEDITION

[Gen. Lachlan McIntosh to Col. Archibald Steel.[2] Washington Papers. Contemporary transcript.]

FORT PITT Monday 19th Octr 1778

SIR:

As every other means has failed in Obtaining any forage for the expedition, without which it must be altogether frustrated, and as yourself and the people whom you employ in that Business, informs me that Country People are so unreasonable as to take advantage of this Expedition set on foot principally for their own

[1] This copy was apparently turned over to Col. Daniel Brodhead by General McIntosh. It was secured by Dr. Draper from the Brodhead heirs in 1846, and is found in Draper Mss., 1H10-13. The signatures of the commissioners and the witnesses are autographs; the Indians have signed with their totem marks. See *ante*, 22. We do not reprint the treaty, since it is easily accessible in *United States Statutes at Large*, VII, 13–15; *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1904), II, 3–5. Note the suggestion for an Indian state, on which see A. H. Abel in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1907, 89.

[2] For Col. Archibald Steel see *Frontier Defense*, 139, note 7.

Salvation and future Security from the Savages and other enemys, by demanding more than double the price for their Grain, than they got last Summer before I arrived here, and even refusing to sell it at all upon any terms expecting still more, than now when the army is yet in Greater distress.

and Whereas the Distillers of whiskey whom this Side of the mountains is overrun with, Confirm them in their ungenerous Sentiments by giving any price required for Grain, expecting to take the same advantages of the distresses of their Country in their way again, which renders it Impossible to get the Necessary Supplys of forage here in the Usual Way, and however delicate I may naturally be in these Matters and loth to interfere in the Civil Police of any State, I hope the Rulers and governing Powers of such States and every good man and friend to his Country will excuse it in the present exigence, or not applying to the proper authoritys for want of time in a Business wherin they are so deeply Interested themselves.—You are therefore and for these Weighty Reasons only, to Impress without any delay any quantity of grain not exceeding fifty Thousand Bushels, and any Quantity of Hay that you will find necessary wherever it is most Convenient for Carriage by land or water for the Use of the army, without favour, affection, or partiallity for any one man whatsoever more than another. The price of which is to be fixed hereafter—you are to observe the utmost decorum and Civility in the execution of this Business to every person, using as little Violence as possible, and take the Greatest Care that you distress no familys or Individuals by taking more grain or hay from any than the Cumfortable Support of their familys can Conveniently spare and admit of, and if you find any person willing to let you have What he can Conveniently Spare without endeavouring to extort or take advantage of the present Necessitys of the publick you are to Impress none from such person.—This is an Important trust put into your hands, which requires much prudence and Judgment and upon which I Greatly depend.

Therefore you are to act with the Utmost, Circumspection and send me always an account of your Proceedings

I am Sir Yours &c.

LACH^{N} M^{C}INTOSH[1]

[1] The following note appears on the original manuscript: "The foregoing letter was shewn to Col^{o} Steel, D. Q. M. General when wrote two Days after his arrival from over the Mountain but I told him I would not deliver it to him yet, untill I consulted the magistrates of the dif^{t} Countys.—and sent Copys

[Orders for impressing forage and whisky. Washington Papers. Contemporary transcript.]

[Oct. 19, 1778.]

Best Hay Fifteen Pounds Pr Ton Midling d° Ten. Pounds P^r^ D°—

This Board further recommended to the General the sending out of a sufficient Number of Parties throughout the Country on this side the mountain under the Command of discreet officers to thresh and Collect all the Grain the Inhabitants can Reasonably spare allowing the above prices and deducting the Usual rates for Threshing, and likewise to seize at the foregoing price, provided the same be unadult^d^ all the Whiskey that can be found allowing the Inhabitants as much as may be reasonably necessary for the use of their respective familys.

DAN^L^ BRODHEAD, Col° Command^g^ 1^t^ Brigade western army.

W^M^ CRAWFORD Col° Comd^g^ Virginia militia.

[Gen. Lachlan McIntosh to magistrates of Westmoreland County. Washington Papers. Contemporary transcript.]

FORT PITT 21^t^ October 1778

GENTLEMEN:

I take the liberty to Inclose you what I have done with respect to getting forage for the Expedition, without which it must fail altogether, after all the expence and preperations we have been at.

yet as Impressing should be the last shift and what I am very loth to begin, untill every other means fails I have not yet del^d^ it to Col° Steel our D. Q. M. General, untill I apply to some of the Magistrates of your County as well as those of Youghiogany and Monongahala.—and I must request as many as possible of you to meet together soon and give me your opinions upon the matter. I shall be happy if you can fall upon any other more eligible method, or if not, I expect and can have no doubt but you will approve of, and give me every assistance in your Power, in this manner, to obtain the necessary Supplys for an Expedition already so far Advanced, and upon the Success of which your own Salvation and Safety depends.

of it with the report of the Board of Field officers from Fort M'Intosh, and the letter preceeding that report to the Countys of Westmoreland Youghiogane and Monongahala."

I have the more reason to expect your assistance in this, as the people of Virginia think me Partial to your State, for allowing all your militia to remain at home for this time, to defend your own frontiers, tho I can assure you I have no other View (as I have always declared) than the defence and protection of you all equally and alike and you might look upon it, as an Infallible rule, that whoever attempts to foment or revive these old Jelousys which I could wish to be buried in oblivion, have some sinister designs of their own and are no friends to their Country.— with every mark of respect I have the honor to be Gentlemen yours &c

LACH^{N} M^{C}INTOSH

[Gen. Lachlan McIntosh to Col. John Campbell.[1] Washington Papers. Contemporary transcript.]

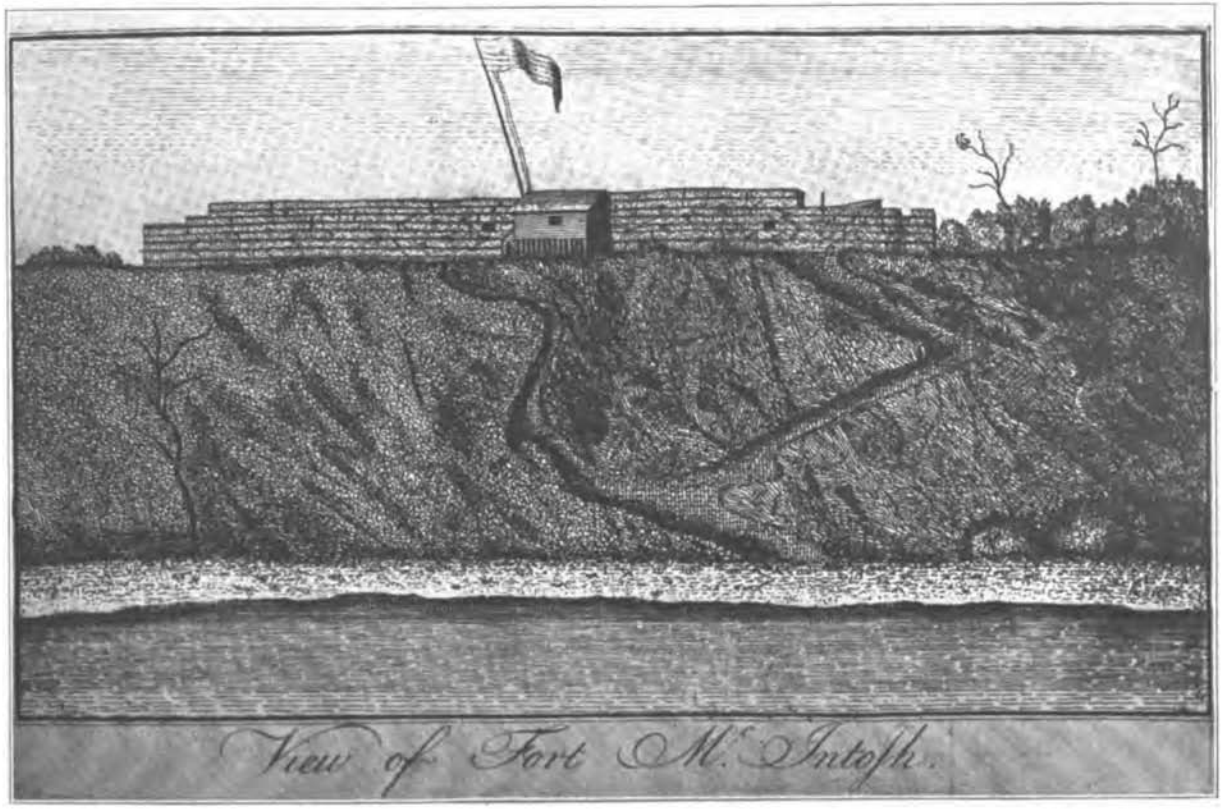
FORT M^{C}INTOSH 25th October 1778[2]

D^{R} SIR:

I take the liberty to Inclose what I have done with respect of getting forage for the expedition, without which it must fail,

[1]Col. John Campbell was at this time county lieutenant of Yohogania, the Virginia county around Pittsburgh. Upon the settlement of the boundary dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia this county went out of existence.

[2] The date of this letter shows the time that McIntosh and his army marched out from Fort Pitt to Beaver Creek and began the operations that led to the building of Fort McIntosh. Its site was upon the northwest bank of the Ohio, about a mile below the mouth of Beaver Creek. It was a substantial structure of irregular shape, the side next the river being the longest. There were four blockhouses at the corners, in each of which was mounted a small fieldpiece, with two in the center of the fort. See Draper Mss., 6NN26. The site was well chosen, and a garrison was maintained here throughout the Revolution. The garrison was several times threatened, and at one time a soldier was killed by lurking Indians; but no regular attack was ever made upon the fort. At the close of the war, in September, 1783, the garrison was withdrawn, and a rapid disintegration of the buildings began. This was aided by the emigrants to Kentucky, who wrenched off boards, appropriated nails, and in general treated the buildings as their private property. In the autumn of 1784 the fort was regarrisoned and repaired for the meeting of the commissioners who, in January, 1785, held a treaty here with the Wyandot, Ottawa, Chippewa, and other tribes. See report of one of the commissioners in R. H. Lee, *Life of Arthur Lee* (Boston, 1829), II, 384. Fort McIntosh was occupied until 1788, when the Board of War ordered it to be demolished. In 1807 the only vestige of the fort was the hearth of the fireplace of the officers' quarters. R. G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, IV, 99.



From a plate in the *Columbian Magazine*, January, 1790

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after all our Trouble, preperations and expence to the publick but as Impressing would be the last Shift and very Contrary to my Inclination, if necessity and the Good of the Community does not oblige me to it.

I could wish before I deliver it to Col° Steel that you would represent the matter to the Magistrates of your County when they meet next monday at the Court House, and should be happy if they could fall upon a more eligible method for Supplying our army with the Necessary article of forage than Impressing, and if not that they will give their Sanction and assistance to this as the only means that can be devised, to carry on an Expedition upon which their own Salvation and Safety depends.—I have the more reason to expect this from your County Sir, as they have exerted themselves more than any other in furnishing men and Carrying so necessary a measure into execution.

I hope to hear from you soon on this matter and am very Respectfully.—Dr Sir Your Most Ob^t^ Servant

LACH^N^ M^c^INTOSH

[Westmoreland magistrates to Gen. Lachlan McIntosh. Washington Papers. Contemporary transcript.]

HANNAS TOWN[1] the 26th—October 1778

HONORED SIR:

We Rec^d^ your letter of the 21^t^ October and a number of our Court have maturely Considered your Requisition, and with pleasure we give our answer as followeth, we Immagine Grain is really scarce in this County and a Great many familys distressed by the Savages, that have lost their Crops intirely and almost everything else that must not by no means be left to perish, and as the Support of your army at this time is of so great Importance not only to the Common Cause in General but to this Country in particular that we cannot but give the assistance your honor Calls for and requires,—only we request that there may be discreet and honest men appointed in each Township that is proper judges to inspect in the Grain that each farmer Can spare leaving him a Competency to support his family and stock, and if any monopolizers or forestallers of Grain is found we hope they may not be

[1] For a sketch of Hannastown see *Frontier Defense*, 6, note 18.

favoured, as their Conduct is expressly Contradictory to Law, we are sorry To have the reason to go into such Measures, though the prices you propose to give is good, but if you hereafter cannot obtain forage for your Support we shall assist you in every legal Measure to procure it if it is to be had, the forage Masters paying at the time they receive it the price mentioned and recommended, though nothing but Importance of supplying your army to render you Serviceable would induce us to impress from farmers it being rather above our Common Sphere of action having no Written President in Law therefore,

There was three Indians discovered on the Chesnut Ridge last Thursday evening going off after killing John Waugh and wife on the nine mile Run, the man that discovered them its generally thought killd one [of] them and with much dificulty made his escape.

We are of opinion that those Scouting parties which is so Constant on our frontiers, Comes from these Towns about 60 miles from Kittaning,[1] which we presume may be discomfitted and drove away from that place if exertions be made for that purpose and as your army is engaged in Pursuits another way, we humbly solicit your honor may grant unto us Powder and lead Sufficient for 150 Volunteers with some Provisions, our People being now Chiefly done seeding we make no doubt but we will forthwith set out in Case your honor may approve our Scheme and only grant these things which [are] all we require.

We beg your answer by M[r] Rob[t] Hannah[2] or as soon as possible as the Season is fast advancing In the Interim we conclude Sir your very Hble. Servt[s]

CHRIST[N] TRUBY
JOHN GOTHERY
JOS: M[c]GARRACK } Esq[rs]
JOS: BARR
CHARLES FOREMAN[3]

[1] For this locality see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 200, note 39.

[2] Robert Hanna was the innkeeper and proprietor of Hannastown and a prominent Westmoreland resident.

[3] Christopher Truby was a German pioneer, whose home was on the site of Greensburg, Pa. He was commissioned justice of the peace, June 11, 1777 and Aug. 18, 1784; was captain of a militia company, serving as a member of Hand's expedition; and in 1787 was trustee of the town of Greensburg. He died in 1802.

John (usually known as Capt. Jack) Guthrie lived near Beaver Run in the northwestern part of Westmoreland County. He commanded a militia com-

[Magistrates of Yohogania County to Gen. Lachlan McIntosh. Washington Papers. Contemporary transcript.]

YOUGHIOGANY COU^{Y} CORT HOUSE 27th Octr 1778

SIR:

Your favour of the 25th October to Col^{o} Campbell Covering the opinion of the Board of Officers at Beavour Creek respecting providing forage for the Campain and fixing the price, also your orders to Col^{o} Steel to impress, are before us:—we should gladly do every thing in our power to forward and assist you in providing every necessary for the Service, at the same time we think it our duty to inform you, that it doth not appear to us, that the reason given to you why forage is not provided are the True ones we hope that there are but few people who are so base, as to retain their Grain in the fields or in the Stacks for the purpose of extorting on the publick Necessity. Some there may be, but we have undoubted Information that the people in dif^{t} parts of the Country, do not nor did not know that any forage is or was wanted for the publick use as they have not heard nor seen any person who made enquiry for it, and we are of opinion that a large quantity of grain may be got by Contract if proper persons are appointed to purchase and a generous price is given, we think that about Twenty Thousand Bushels may be purchased in this Country in the different districts following Viz—in the neighbourhood of the New Store on the Monongahala River, Hollidays Cove, Penticosts and Bowleys Mills, Mounces, Beasons, and Sheetes Mills Craybells Mill on Pidgeon Creek, Marchs Mill on Sweedly Creek and Spears Mill on the Monongahala River,[1]—from the best informa-

pany under Col. Archibald Lochry in 1781 and was captured at the latter's defeat. Afterwards he escaped, was made major of militia, and having entered the regular service served with St. Clair in 1791. He died about 1810 while on a visit to Kentucky.

Joseph Barr lived in the Derry settlement in northwestern Westmoreland County.

Charles Foreman was commissioned justice of the peace, June 11, 1777; he was captain of the first battalion of Westmoreland militia during Hand's expedition early in 1778.

[1] New Store was on the site of the present town of Elizabeth in Allegheny County. For Dorsey Pentecost and his residence see *Dunmore's War*, 101, note 47. Providence Mounts is noted in *Frontier Defense*, 216, note 80. His mill was on the site of the present town of Connellsville. Henry Beeson had built a mill on the site of Uniontown as early as 1772. Joseph Graybill lived on Pigeon Creek in what is now Fallowfield Township, Washington County. The other mill sites have not been identified.

tion we can get the Country People would be content to part with their Grain at the following rates Wheat 30/p Bushell Rye 27/6 p Bushell Corn 22/6 p Bushell and oats 15/p Bushell which on comparing with the rates usually paid, in the other parts of the neighbouring Country for Comoditys necessary for the Husband man, and the high price of labour hire we find will be only allowing them the same price here for their Grain which the others Receive when this Country people must pay all the additional Cost of Carriage for their Commoditys to this County.

We are in hopes this mode will furnish the necessary Supply and make that of Impressing unnecessary, a mode that must be productive of oppression, and occasion much Calamity the distress of a Number of people subject to the will of any Individual invested with such power as is proposed to be given the Q. Master in this Case is alarming, and wish never to see it put into execution.—We have rated the ordinary Keepers price of liquors (we Inclose you a Copy) which we hope will restrain the distillers and Brewers from exceeding the price, we have estimated grain at and we have come to a resolution to put the laws against engrocers, Regrattors, and forestallers into force, which we hope will also assist to regulate them,—this is all we can Possibly do as Justices, but we shall do every thing in our power as Individuals to assist the Officers in the Execution of their duty

Sir Your Most Ob^{t} very Hble Servts.

EDW^{D} WARD
BENJ^{N} KUYKENDAWL
SAM^{L} NEWELL
OLIVER MILLER
JAMES ROGERS[1]

[1] For Edward Ward see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 171, note 97; for Benjamin Kuykendall, *Frontier Defense*, 277, note 35.

Samuel Newell appears to have lived on Chartier's Creek; he was commissioned magistrate of Yohogania County in December, 1776, and again in May, 1778. In November, 1778, he was appointed to repair the courthouse.

Oliver Miller was a justice from April, 1777, to the last court in 1780. He seems to have lived on Peter's Creek.

James Rogers was commissioned one of the county justices, May 26, 1778.

[Gen. Lachlan McIntosh to Westmoreland magistrates. Washington Papers. Contemporary transcript.]

FORT M^{C}INTOSH 29th Octr 1778

GENTLEMEN:

late last night I rec^{d} your favour dated Hannas Town 26th October Inst^{o} and thank you most heartily for your ready Complyance with the application that my present necessity obliged me to make to you.—your assistance, which you so generously offer to relieve the distresses of your Country will greatly help me, and do honor to yourselves, I will agreeable to your own desire, order my Q. Master and any person whom he may employ to apply to you for the assistance you offer, and recommend such persons as you may think proper to engage such forage as your County can spare, at the prices fixed upon by Gentlemen equally Concerned with yourselves and allowed by you to be *good*.—I heartily agree with you in not sparing monopolisers and foresta[llers] who are at the Bottom of all our distress and hope you will point them out and Treat them according to their Demerit, I am extreamely sorry for the repeated Cruel Murders Committed on your people by the Savages and could wish your Country would Join heartily, in Compleating the Chain of Forts I recommended to them so long, and begun myself for your protection from the northern Indians during my absence.—I much approve of your proposal, and the Spirit of your People in trying to rout or destroy these hostile Indian Towns which are Continually doing you Mischief.—I have been thinking of it myself only that I am otherways employed now, and you may Inform the L^{t} of your County, that I will allow provision, ammunition, or any reasonable encouragement he may desire for Carrying it into execution Immediately, informing me regularly of the proceedings and Success, and would recommend this as a very proper time for the purpose as I propose going in a few days to the Delaware Towns and probably the attention of many of their men are fixed upon our movements,—therefore the sooner such a plan is attempted the better

I have the honor to be Gent^{n} yours &^{c}

LACH^{N} M^{C}INTOSH

To

CHRIST^{N} TRUBY
JOHN GOTHERY
JOSEPH M^{C}GARRACK
JAMES BARR
CHARLES FOREMAN
} Esquires

THE EXPEDITION EN ROUTE

[Gen. Lachlan McIntosh to Col. William Fleming. 2U49. A. L. S.]

FORT M^{c}INTOSH, BEAVER CREEK, 30th Oct^{r}, 1778.

SIR:

I have the pleasure to inform you that my plan of erecting posts in proper places, and Securing as I go into the Indian Country, has its proper effect, and alarms the Savages much.

Several Tribes have already applyed to me for peace, but I have given them no encouragement yet, until they give me Substantial proofs, of their Sincerity, and untill I go to the Delewares Towns, where I propose Setting off from here, in two or three days, and build a Fort there to Secure these people in our Interest, from whence I may make Excursions to some of the Hostile Towns.

But fear I will be disapointed in my designs by the Shortness of the term the Militia are engaged for, unless the Lieutenants or Commanding Officers of the Several Countys of Virginia exert themselves in sending me a fresh Supply of Men Soon to relieve those I have now, whose times will all expire the first day of January next, except the Hampshire Militia who are engaged for six months, and it will be needless to trouble the people by Sending them upon Such an Expedition as this, for a Shorter term, as the distance is so great, and growing still greater as I proceed, and the men so tedious Collecting them together, Marching out, and returning home again, which takes up the greatest part of the time, therefore it will be best, that the Six months Shall be from the time they arrive at my Head Quarters, untill they are discharged from thence (if their Service should be so long required) as I do not mean to make only a meer Excursion into the Indian Country, as has been always done hitherto, and have the same Continually to do over again, but to keep possession as I go, if I am properly Supported with men, and insure if possible the future peace of this part of the Country.

As I have not troubled you before, I must request of you now Sir to send me two hundred active young men, properly officered, Armed and accoutred as soon as possible, that I may not loose any posts or ground I may Gain in the Indian Country. they should Set off at farthest before the first of December to be up

with me in time. In hopes that you will not disappoint me, and use your utmost endevours to procure all the men, I am very respectfully Sir Y^r^ most ob^t^ H'ble Servt

LACH^N^ M^C^INTOSH B. G. Command^g^ West: Dep^ty^

THE LIEUTENANT OF BOTTETOUR COUNTY.

[The preceding letter was enclosed in the following.]

SIR:

There is the greatest necessity to furnish the men that the Genl Requires & therefore hope youl exert yourself in forwarding them Youl have to provide provisions & other necessarys for their march as I am going from home in order to serve in Senate I shall lay in some Flour & Beef here to Issue to the men as they pass for about Six Days Rations

I am Sir Your hum^l^ Servt

SAMP: MATHEWS.

TO THE COUNTY L^T^ OR COMMANDING OFFICER OF BOTETOURT.

[*Endorsed:*] Mr John Yancey is Desired to Forward this Letter to Lt Col^o^ Geo. Skilleren without Delay. S. MATHEWS.

[Gen. Lachlan McIntosh to Col. Archibald Lochry. Reprinted from Mary C. Darlington, *Fort Pitt* * * * (Pittsburgh, 1892), 233–35.]

FORT MCINTOSH, BEAVER CREEK, Oct. 30, 1778.

SIR:

I had the Honor of writing to you on the 27th September, and hope your People are about the Block Houses I recommended for the protection of your County during my absence. The repeated murders committed by the Indians upon your Inhabitants must show the necessity of them.

The Magistrates of your County have asked my consent for 150 Volunteers to go and rout or remove a few Indian Towns upon Allegheny River, who, probably, are the most troublesome to you, which I very much approve of. It will be greatly to your honor and advantage; they shall have provisions and ammunition, either from this place or Fort Pitt, with every reasonable Encouragement I can give them, as nothing can be better times [timed], if they are expeditious and secrete. I purpose going in two or three

[1] For a replica of this letter addressed to Col. William Preston see *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XXIII, 224.

days to Cochocking, or the Delaware Towns, and leave Colonel Broadhead to wait for our stores, and the attention of most of their Warriors will be upon our motions, which will probably make them an easy prey. It is what I had in View myself, if I was not otherwise employed. I shall be glad to hear of your proceedings and success in it.

I have the pleasure to inform you that my plan of securing as I go begins to have its proper effect upon several tribes of the Savages already, who have earnestly applied to me for peace, but have given them no Encouragement yet, and perhaps will not if I am properly supported, until they give me substantial proofs of their Sincerity. I intend building a Fort at Cochocking before I proceed any further, to secure these Indians in our Interest, from which I may probably make excursions to some of the Hostile Towns; but, unfortunately, the time of the Militia I have with me will expire the first day of January next, which will disappoint all my Schemes, unless I have a fresh Supply of men before that time, which I cannot expect from these Counties, who have already Exerted themselves so much; therefore, as I have Spared yours this time, for the security and protection of your own Frontiers, I hope and expect you will use your utmost Endeavours to procure only two hundred men, properly Officered, armed and accoutered, whom I request you will send off the first of December at farthest, that they may be up with me in time, and that I may not be obliged to relinquish any Ground I gain; and must also intreat the time of service of your Militia, if possible, may be six Months from the Day they arrive at my headquarters, if required so long, as short engagements will be of no use in my design, and for their encouragement I expect they will have the honor of finishing the campaign, and all the toil and labor will be over before they come. In hopes that you will use your utmost Exertion on the occasion to serve your country and yourselves.

I am respectfully, sir, Your most obt. servt,

LACH'N MCINTOSH.

I request you will forward the inclosed letter to Colonel Piper[1] immediately by express.

[1] Col. John Piper was a militia officer in Bedford County, Pa. See sketch in *Frontier Defense*, 133, note 97.

RECOLLECTIONS OF PARTICIPANTS

[Recollections of Stephen Burkam.[1] 2S239–40.]

My informant was out with M°Intosh, 1500 militia and 500 regulars went out in the fall; got back about new years—four months service. Gen. M°Intosh was second in comm[d]. Rendezvoused at Pittsburg. Col. Gibson was along. Col. Campbell, from V[a] commanded a V[a] Regiment; and was since the war overseer of the V[a] Penitentiary.[2]

Built Fort M°Intosh, and then marched about 90[ms] to the Tuscarawas and there erected Fort Laurens: Never saw an Indian, all the time: M°Intosh took Capt. White Eyes and Bob Bee [Baubee] as pilots; Capt. White Eyes at Fort M°Intosh was taken with the Small-pox, and was sent to Pittsburg where he soon died.[3] Bob Bee deserted at F[t] M°Intosh. None others had small pox. after reaching F[t] Laurens provisions began to fail, and put on short allowance, quarter of a pound of flour each p[r] day; nearly two weeks thus allowed; and finally the main army (70 or 80 left in the fort) marched on return without a particle of anything, eat the hides left (of the beeves for the army) to dry going out, roasted and eat them.

[1] Stephen Burkam was born in January, 1762, in Berkeley County, Va. In the autumn of 1768 his father's family removed to the Youghiogheny near Beeson's Fort. McIntosh's campaign was the first military affair in which he took part. In 1781 he went on Williamson's Moravian campaign, and the next year on Crawford's disastrous Sandusky expedition. He was likewise present at the siege of Wheeling in the autumn of 1782. Dr. Draper interviewed him in the autumn of 1845, when he was living not far from Wheeling.

[2] This is an error, since Col. Richard Campbell was killed during the Revolution.

[3] It was given out at the time that White Eyes died of smallpox and it has been so believed. There is evidence in Colonel Morgan's papers, however, that White Eyes, while on one of his errands of kindness to the Americans at Pittsburgh was murdered by a savage frontiersman. See Boyd Crumrine, *History of Washington County* (Philadelphia, 1882), 220, note; *Historical Register of Pennsylvania*, II, 232–33.

[Recollections of John Cuppy.[1] 9S2–7.]

In 1778 a draft came for some Hampshire militia to join General McIntosh in an expedition into the Indian country for a three months' service. Started in September. Abram and Isaac Hite[2] went out as commissaries, with a large drove of beeves, and flour packed out on horses, and both went the campaign, my informant knowing them both, and seeing them often during the expedition. Captain Vanmeter, who lived at or near Moorfield,[3] commanded the Hampshire company, in which Mr. Cuppy served—some 40 in the company. Is not certain whether any other companies went from Hampshire. Probably in Col. William Crawford's regiment.

Rendezvoused at Pittsburgh, but Van Meter's company marched directly across the country to mouth of Beaver, and there joined the army, who had already built Fort McIntosh, which was larger and stronger than Fort Laurens; Fort McIntosh, nearly square, stockaded in, enclosing nearly two acres, relying upon the river for water, and the gate was on the opposite side from the river. Pickets went on each side to the water; no pickets next the river. Thinks it was built on a barren and carried and drew in timber for the fort for half a mile. Don't remember who was left in command at Fort McIntosh. Remembers that Colonels Crawford, Brodhead, and Gibson were on the expedition. Captain Brady[4] was along, in Brodhead's regiment but did not make

[1] John Cuppy, of German parentage, was born Mar. 11, 1761, in New Jersey; while he was an infant his father removed to the south branch of the Potomac in Hampshire County. Thence John was drafted for McIntosh's expedition, his first military service. The next year he married, and took a tour of military duty during the Loyalist insurrection of 1781. About the year 1788 he removed to a farm near Wellsburg, W. Va., where he engaged in the spy service under Capt. Samuel Brady, and became an expert rifleman and scout. In 1818 he removed to Ohio, and in 1823 settled in Wayne Township, Montgomery County. There Dr. Draper secured from him these reminiscences, Aug. 21 to Aug. 23, 1860. He died the following year, having completed a century of life.

[2] For these pioneers see *Dunmore's War*, 32, notes 55 and 56.

[3] The Van Meter family was originally from the south branch of the Potomac, but several of its members had settled on the Ohio waters before the date of this expedition. There are no data to determine which Captain Van Meter this was; possibly it was Joseph who lived in Hardy County near Moorefield, and drew a pension in 1832 for Revolutionary services.

[4] Capt. Samuel Brady was born of Scotch-Irish ancestry near Shippensburg, Pa., in 1756. When he was about twelve years old his father's family removed

JOHN CUPPY

From a daguerreotype in the Wisconsin Historical Library

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his acquaintance. In Fort McIntosh had about the same buildings within as at Fort Laurens, probably somewhat larger, and located to the right and left of the gate, and on the sides as well as front of the fort.

Reached the Tuscarawas by a plain Indian trail, on Boquet's old road.[1] Colonel Crawford had doubtless been out with Colonel Boquet, and probably many others. Where Fort Laurens was built, was no timber, on a high bank, and a barren back for half a mile or more; and the men had to carry in the timber, four or five to a stick. Made mostly of large, hard-wood timber, split, some six inches thick, bullet-proof, planted in trenches three feet deep, solidly packed around, and extending fifteen feet above ground. Thinks the fort, which was on the west bank of the Tuscarawas, enclosed about an acre of ground, and was the longest on the river. No pickets along the river bank, no high, overlooking ground either near Fort McIntosh or Laurens. The gate was on the west side of the fort, no spring; relied upon the river for supply of water. There was one block-house, about 20 feet square, which was directly to the right of the gate, and next to it, and formed a part of the outside in place of picketing: the block-house, about six feet above the ground, the block-house was made a foot wider on the wall side, and made to over-jut, so if Indians came up, the garrison could shoot down through this open jut directly upon an enemy below; and the floor of puncheons on a level with the over-jut; and the timbers built up some eight feet, so as completely to protect those within from the enemy without, and port-holes all around about five feet from the floor, and some two or three feet apart, through to which for the garrison to fire in case of an attack, with a rude roof slanting one

to the west branch of the Susquehanna, where he enlisted in 1775 in the Continental service. Brady was at Boston, Princeton, Brandywine, and Monmouth. On his western march in 1778 he secured leave to visit his family, and did not rejoin the army until about the close of the year. In April, 1779, his father was murdered by Indians; thenceforward the son swore undying hatred to the entire race. In 1780, he scouted to Sandusky, and subsequently was frequently employed on ranging expeditions. In 1784, after a year in Kentucky, he married Drusilla Swearingen, and lived near Wellsburg, later near West Liberty, W. Va. In 1792 Wayne chose Brady to command his scouts. Stories of his adventures constitute a large part of border tradition. At one time he was on trial at Pittsburgh for the murder of an Indian, but was acquitted by popular verdict. He died on Christmas, 1795. Dr. Draper who planned to write his biography collected much material on Brady's career.

[1] For this expedition and its leader see *Dunmore's War*, 373, note 94.

way, and that within the fort. Thinks there were cannon on the expedition. There were also about 2 cabins built on each end of the fort, not quite together and in a line with the picketing, and helped to form the enclosure, and also had over-jutting, and with port-holes; but smaller than the block-house; and these were for shelter for provisions and baggage.

The army encamped in the open ground in a semi-circle around Fort Laurens, some distance from the fort, but not so far back as the woods, in tents; every mess, composed of six or seven men, had a tent. All the baggage of the army, flour &c. was packed on horses. Remained the largest part of the time in service, encamped at Tuscarawas, and the troops continued in camp until they commenced the return march, when a garrison was left at Fort Laurens.

Indians were entirely peaceable; no attacks from them during the expedition remembered; frequently visited the camp, and brought fine fat haunches of venison, bear meat and turkies, and presented to the officers, who gave them some of their too beloved fire-water in return. The Indians, both men and women would have frequent dances, a hundred or more together, the taller taking the lead, and others falling into the circle, according to their height, the shortest bringing up the rear, and dancing around in the circle, to the rude music derived from beating upon a kettle by an old Indian, intermingled with occasional yells. Simon Girty was among the Indians, and seemed quite a leader among them.

A few of the troops died at Fort Laurens. Remembers Captain White Eyes, the Delaware chief, but can't say much about him. On return march, were short of provisions, and scanty for some time before; didn't have half enough to satisfy their hunger. The beeves got very poor towards the close of November and early December, and some snow had fallen before they left the Tuscarawas, and ground covered with some half a dozen inches of snow while marching from the Tuscarawas to Fort McIntosh. Had but a single small canoe to set the men over the Tuscarawas. The troops, so large a body, beat down the snow, and the travelling was very good, distance was called 77 miles between the two forts. Thinks this return march from Fort Laurens to Fort McIntosh was accomplished in a day and night, some stopping and making a camp fire, sleep a while, and then push on to Fort McIntosh, not in much order, except each company kept to-

gether and all were scattered along, perhaps over half the whole distance.

On the return march, some of Cuppy's mess had managed from being on guard the night before to secure a small sack of flour, which they carried some distance into the woods and baked up, throwing away the bag, and dividing the bread. But the troops generally suffered for want of food, and the scanty allowance of beef was very poor; and Cuppy met one poor young fellow named John Bell, sitting by the roadside crying, saying he was so weak he could not proceed any further; and Cuppy gave him some of his supply of bread, and encouraged him to renew the march, which he did, and got in, and finally reached the region of the South Branch of Potomac where he belonged. Thinks Bell did not belong to Van Meter's company. Some of the soldiers were glad to make use of the hides of the beeves that had been killed on the outward march, and crisp them over the fire, and eat them as they could.

At Fort McIntosh, the troops were discharged, after three months' service, and returned to their several homes. Cuppy thinks he was some 4 days going across the country from Fort McIntosh to Red Stone[1] [then] to South Branch of Potomac. He had some money to pay his way along; but many had no means, had to beg supplies, and not unfrequently plunder the fowls of the settlers along the route. Cuppy reached home, in good health, on Christmas eve, 1778.

[Recollections of Jesse Ellis.[2] 2S321–22.]

My informant was also on M°Intosh's campaign in 1778, Col° Wm Crawford (who was afterwards burnt); Col. John Stephenson;[3]

[1] For Redstone on the Monongahela see *ibid.*, 12, note 22.

[2] Jesse Ellis was born Oct. 15, 1756, in Frederick County, Md. Some time before the Revolution he removed to modern Washington County, Pa., where he volunteered in the militia, and spent six months (1776) at Holliday's Cove. At the close of this service he removed to Ohio County, Va., where in July, 1778, he was drafted into the militia under Col. John Stephenson; the next year he served in Brodhead's Allegheny campaign. After the Indian wars he removed to the Northwest Territory, where in Adams County, Ohio, he was interviewed by Dr. Draper in 1845.

[3] For Maj. John Stephenson see *Frontier Defense*, 190, note 61.

Col. Samuel Beeler[1]—all three residing on waters of Youghogany: Col. Campbell of Pittsburg,[2] was along—known as "Swearing Campbell." Thinks Col. Gibson was not along. 2000 men, and officers besides, built Fort M°Intosh, then built Fort Laurens on Tuscarawas; staid there about 6 weeks, then returned to F^t M°Intosh and were discharged—got to F^t M°Intosh about 20th Dec. eat raw cowhides, (the regulars would) of the beeves killed going out—36 dry hides cut up and roasted in one night. Some of the militia would venture out and kill deer. No Indians seen going nor returning. A garrison was left at Fort Laurens—a Captain and company; remained there from Nov. till next April, when the militia raised and went and brought them in.

[Recollections of Capt. Jacob White.[3] 3S320–23.]

McIntosh's Campaign, 1778. Built F^t M°Intosh, at the lower side of the mouth of Beaver, and Col. Brodhead was left in command of F^t M°Intosh. In moving on, Lieut. Parks[4] of Gibson's regiment, and David Ross, a spy (a former prisoner with the

[1] Probably Col. Joseph Beeler, later county lieutenant of Yohogania County, who on Mar. 25, 1778, was commissioned major of the county's militia.

[2] Col. John Campbell was at this time county lieutenant of Yohogania County.

[3] Jacob White was born May 2, 1759, in Somerset County, N. J. When he was eleven years old his father, Edward White, removed to western Pennsylvania near Redstone Old Fort on the Monongahela. During Dunmore's War the family forted at Spear's Station. In 1777 Jacob enlisted as a ranger in Capt. James Brenton's company. See *Frontier Defense*, 84. After the attack on Fort Henry, the company was sent to relieve the garrison and to scout in the neighborhood. In 1779, after McIntosh's campaign, White was in a scouting company, and the next year commanded a militia garrison at Minor's Fort on Whiteley Creek; in 1781, he had charge of a fort at Mingo Bottom on the Ohio. In 1787 he removed to Kentucky, and two years later settled at Columbia, Ohio, now part of Cincinnati. The fort at this place was called White's; it was attacked in 1793 by a large party of Indians, but was successfully defended. Captain White served two years in the Ohio territorial legislature, and three in that of the state; for many years he was a judge of Hamilton County, and a magistrate. During the War of 1812 he lost much property by endorsing contractors' notes. Dr. Draper interviewed this pioneer in the autumn of 1845; he was then in good health and possessed of a good memory.

[4] Lieut. James Parks of Virginia was commissioned first lieutenant of the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment, Dec. 16, 1776. He was killed Nov. 6, 1778; several pensioners mention in their statements that they saw him lying dead by the roadside.

Indians) generally called by his Dutch friends *Taff Ross*[1]— Ross ahead as spy, and Parks out near him trying to kill a deer, were both killed by Indians, who fled away.

While building Fort Laurens, a party of 40 or 50 Indians, including some squaws and children, made their appearance with a white flag, and begged peace. Gen. McIntosh held a conference with them, and they retired friendly. The fort was located on high ground, on the west bank; some 7 or 8 rods square within the enclosure, lined with cabins and soldiers barracks. Col. Gibson left in command. The fort was built on an eminence, at the foot of which, some 40 or 50 feet from the fort, several fine springs burst forth, and between the bank and the river was a narrow bottom: This was the highest spot of ground in that region.

While building F^t Laurens lived on short allowance, 4 oz^s of injured flour and 8 oz^s of very poor beef, for nine weeks; and when started on return march, had one day's provisions, which was made to last till reach^d Fort McIntosh, 80 miles, some got out, 'twas said, some of the men cut off strips of hides hanging up, stripped from beeves killed on the outward march, and broiled them on the coals and eat them, but Capt. White did not see this. At F^t McIntosh found plenty of provisions, got there in two days, no Indians met; and when arrived, Gen. M. ordered that every man should draw 2 days provision and half a pint of whiskey, and the men generally poor and emaciated, the liquor flew to their heads, and some 2000 (of about 25 or 26 hundred) were quite inebriated in a few minutes. Gen. M. said "a hair of the same dog was good for the bite; & to-morrow morning you shall all have double rations & another half pint." But none were seen drunk next day.

Capt. White commanded a company in Col. John Stinson's [Stephenson's] regiment on this campaign, commissioned a captain in the Militia in the spring of that year: At Fort McIntosh the militia were disbanded about 10th Dec. after near a six months service.

[1] Apparently this informant was mistaken about the death of Ross. Samuel Murphy told Dr. Draper (3S9, 5S7–9) that he knew Ross well, that he was captured in the French and Indian War when seven years old near Cumberland, Md., that he was twenty years with the Indians, and that he was in the battle of Point Pleasant on the Indian side. After Dunmore's War he returned to the whites, married Effie Ward, and settled in Butler County, Pa., where he resided until his death.

FORT McINTOSH COMMANDANT

[Gen. Lachlan McIntosh to Col. Richard Campbell. Washington Papers. Contemporary transcript.]

FORT M'INTOSH 3d Novmr 1778

SIR:

You are Immediately to take the charge and Command of this Post with all the Troops left here untill further orders.—you are to get the Fort Finished as soon as possible you can, the Gates are to be hung and secured, the under pinning finished, and the Bastions put in a proper State of defence in the first place, with the Tower in the front.—the Barracks may be finished the last.

As the want of our Stores and Provisions has detained me so long here, and obliges me late as it is now to proceed only with part of the army, you are therefore to exert your utmost endevours in Collecting them with all possible dispatch into this Fort, for which it was first intended, and hurry the difft departments of the Staff in their several dutys, always getting a report and account from each of, their proceedings which you are to report to me regularly, Flour, Forage Salt and Whiskey are the princepal things we are in need of, and you are to Consult with the Commissarys and Q. Masters on the proper Methods to procure them on the best terms and Speediest manner which I must in my present hurry leave to your own directions.

You will receive reports every day agreeable to my orders,—from Legonier, Fort Wallace, Hand and Crawford all under the direction of Captain Morehead[1] Covering Westmoreland County,—from Captn Heaths[2] Company at Fort Pitt, which you are

[1] For Capt. Samuel Moorhead and the building of Fort Hand see *Frontier Defense*, 82, 97–99.

Fort Crawford was a post on the Continental establishment, erected in the spring of 1778 by Col. William Crawford with a detachment of the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment. See C. W. Butterfield, *Crawford's Campaign against Sandusky* (Cincinnati, 1873), 107. It was garrisoned intermittently during 1778; in the spring of 1779 a small detachment under Lieut. Lawrence Harrison was sent to occupy the post, and range between it and Fort Hand. Fort Crawford was located at a shallow ford of the Allegheny frequently used by marauding Indian parties; it was about a mile north of Pucketty Creek in Burrell Township, Westmoreland County. The garrison was maintained with some intermissions until the close of the Revolution, and the post was again occupied in 1792 after St. Clair's defeat.

[2] Henry Heath was captain of an independent Virginia company in service at Fort Pitt from October, 1777, to January, 1782. He died in 1793. The Heath

always to forward to me, and endeavour to get the same Regularly observed by those Commanding at the Stations below you upon the River Ohio Viz—Rardons Bottom, Hollidays Cove, and Fort Henry at Wheeling, which they have neglected for some time.—Any further Instructions that may be necessary shall be sent hereafter, but mu[s]t repeat my anxiety to have this post secured as soon as Possible

I am Sir Your Most Ob[t] Serv[t]

LACH[N] M'INTOSH

INSTRUCTIONS TO COMMISSARIES

[Gen. Lachlan McIntosh to Col. Archibald Steel. Washington Papers. Contemporary transcript.]

FORT MCINTOSH 3[d] Novem[r] 1778

SIR:

before I would deliver you the Inclosed tho. wrote the[e] 19th Ult[o] (see the preceding letter to this Gentleman) I thought proper to apply to the Magistrates of Westmoreland, Youghiogany and Monongahaly Countys for their approbation of it. Those of Westmoreland agree to the mode, of the prices mentioned, provided the people do not part with what Grain they can spare willingly, therefore you are to put it in force in that County, only, observing to employ such men in their several Townships, as Two or more of their own Magistrates will recommend to you if they do not part with any Grain they have to spare willingly.

The Prices you give in Westmoreland may serve as a Rule to guide your purchases in the other Countys where you find it convenient, which you are to try every means in your Power to procure as it is an Article we must have. you are to Consider the number of Horses and Cattle we have to support this Winter, which will be an Immence loss besides the disapointment to the public if lost, and use your utmost exertions to prevent.—I have ordered Major Harrison[1] of Youghiogany County (as I am informed he is

family lived in Allegheny County on the west side of the Monongahela near the Washington County line.

[1] William Harrison, son of Lawrence, was a Virginian by birth, who early removed to the neighborhood of the present Connellsville, Pa., then part of Yohogania County, Va. He was educated as a lawyer, and was a man of great ability. He was sheriff of his county for a time and served in the Virginia House

a proper person) to assist you in this bissiness, only in the Virginia part of your District—and you are at all times to report to me or the Commanding Officer at this post your Proceedings, and success in this bissiness and be as expeditious as Possible You are to have 200^{lb} W^{t} of the Best Powder and four hundred Pounds lead at Fort Pitt for the Westmoreland Militia and desire Captn Heath to deliver it if they call for it

I am Sir Yours &c.

LACH^{N} M'INTOSH

N. B. With the above letter was delivered to Colonel Steel all my proceedings with respect to forage for his Government as inserted above.

[Gen. Lachlan McIntosh to Capt. Patrick Lockhart. Washington Papers. Contemporary transcript.]

FORT M'INTOSH 4th Novm^{r} 1778

SIR:

As I am under a necessity of marching Immediately with a large Detachment of the army, some distance into the Indian Country, and must leave you to Collect the provision and other stores at this place and must request you to exert yourself in having it done as soon as possible, as it will be uncertain when I may want them, I leave Col^{o} Steel also for that purpose, and to procure forage, which is an article we must have, to save such a number of Horses and Cattle, as we have on hand, whom you are to give all the assistance in your power to as well as Lt Col^{o} Campbell, whom I leave to Command and direct the whole here during my absence.

I have not time to direct more fully now, but desire you will at all times inform me of your Proceedings.

I am Sir your Most Ob^{t} Servant

LACH^{N} M'INTOSH

N. B. as Whiskey will be a very necessary article and dont expect what Col^{o} Morgan was to bring up, I shall be glad you would purchase on this side the Mountains any Quantity not exceeding four Thousand Gallons, at the prices I have given to Colonel Steel which he will furnish you a Copy of

of Delegates. He married Sarah, daughter of Col. William Crawford, and accompanied the latter on his ill-fated expedition of 1782, being captured and tortured to death by the Indians. During the war he served as major and colonel of militia.

[Col. Richard Campbell to Col. Archibald Steel and Capt. Patrick Lockhart. Washington Papers. Contemporary transcript.]

FORT M'INTOSH Novm^{r} 5th 1778

SIR:

You will Immediately prepare and order all the Horses to be Collected that is fit for service.—You are to have 300 taken out of the number that is fit for service kept for Immediate use at this post, five hundred is to be Immediately sent to Fort Cumberland to bring flour and salt to this post under the Care of Mr Brady.[1] The 300 Horses that is left for immediate use at this post is to be employed in bringing forage that is purchased on this side of the Alligany Mountains till they are Called for, if they should be any more Horses fit for service they are to be employed in bringing in forage to this post till further orders.—all the Horses that Col^{o} Steel and Captn Lockhart thinks unfit for service or Cannot be of any use hereafter to the public is to be sold and those Horses that you think can be made Servisable to the States by keeping them over the winter is to be sent to some place wherever Col^{o} Steel thinks proper to send them to be wintered.—and Col^{o} Steel will have a Return made of All the Horses fit for service and in what business they are in and what he intends to load on them with from Fort Cumberland and the number of Horses that he intends for sale, and the number he intends to be sent to be wintered.—Col^{o} Steel is to furnish me with a Return of all the stores in his Department on this side of the Allegany Mountains.

RICH^{D} CAMPBELL Col^{o} Comd^{g}

[Extract of a letter from Gen. Lachlan McIntosh to Col. Richard Campbell. Washington Papers. Contemporary transcript.]

CAMP PLEASANT 18 MILES FROM FORT M^{c}INTOSH
7th Novm^{r} 1778

tell Mr Lockhart, Steel and Brady, they have used me extreamly ill in sending such Horses upon this Journey, they detain us unaccountably.—they are tiring every day and Cannot Travel above four or five miles a day altho I find their loads upon an

[1] William Brady of Pittsburgh, for whom see *Frontier Defense*, 217, note 82.

average does not exceed 100[lb] weight each which will also make us exceeding Short of Provisions and will require a supply from you soon and request you to have it ready for us as soon as Possible, we are also in great want of forage now—which you will push Steel to get soon.

ESTATE OF WHITE EYES

[Inventory of White Eyes's effects. 1H14–15. Contemporary transcript.]

PITTSBURGH 9 Nov[r] 1778

Inventory of Sundry Moveables the Property of the Late Col. White Eyes of the Delewar Nation Deceased now in the Possession of Thomas Nicholas [Nicholson] of Pittsburgh Viz.

1 Breech Clout fully trim'd

1 Bundle of blue & Red Ferreting. Q[ty] {31½ Red D° / 33½ blu D°}

1 Paint Bag with some paint in it

1 Silver Medal Effigee of Geo. the 3[d] of Great Britain[1]

1 Large be[l]t Wampum 11 Rows

1 Quill Back'd Comb 1 pr. Scissars 3 yards Gartering

1 Printed Linen Jacket, 1 Bundle Sundry Papers

1 P[r] Saddle Bags

1 Green Coat fac'd with Red with an Apatch

1 Old D° D° Cotawy [Cuttaway] 1 Crib & Bridle

1 P Old Buck Skin Leggons. 1 plain Scarlet Jacket new

1 D° Old, 1 P Scarlet Breeches. 1 P of Buck Skin d°

1 Scarlet Silk Jacket Trim'd with Gold Lace

1 small Red Pocket Book with some papers & needles

1 Fur Cap 1 pair plated Buckles 3 p Shoes viz 1 new & 2 Old

1 Old blue Breech Clout 1 P of white Legons bound

1 Knife Case, & belt 1 Match Coat

1 New Saddle & Saddle Cloth 1 Beaver Hat 1 Rifle, Pouch & Horn

1 Broach & Ear Ring 1 pipe Tomahawk 1 P Knee buckles & 1 P Spectacles

[1] The British, following the practice of the French, presented to the Indian chiefs large silver medals in recognition of services, and as tokens of chieftainship. A number of such medals, some with the effigy of George III, are in the museum of the Wisconsin Historical Society. See Charles E. Brown, "Wisconsin Indian Medals," in *Wisconsin Archeologist*, XIV, 28–36.

MEDAL OF GEORGE III

From the Original in the Wisconsin Historical Museum

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I do Certify that the within Inventory was taken by me at the Request of Thomas Nicholas & by order of Col. Archib'd Steel and that the within Articles were Produced by him which are now in his Custoday. D^p^ MOORE

Witness Present at the Taking of the within Inventory.

JOHN HANDLYN

PITTSBURGH Novr 10th 1778

Received of Thomas Nicholas the Contents of the within Inventory being the Property of the Late Col. White Eyes of the Deleware Nations Decea^d^ which articles I Promise to be Accountable for to any Person having Authority to Call upon me for the same. DAN^L^ SULLIVAN[1]

Tes^t^ DAVID MOORE

AFFAIRS AT FORT McINTOSH

[Extract of a letter from Col. Richard Campbell to Gen. Lachlan McIntosh. Washington Papers. Contemporary transcript.]

FORT M^C^INTOSH Novm^r^ 10th 1778

DR GENERAL:

I am doing every thing I possibly can towards getting forage to this place. Col^o^ Steel has promised me from time to time, till I am altogether out of Patience. I am afraid I shall be under the disagreeable Necessity of differing with him and all the Q^r^ Masters, I have one now under an arrest and I wish it may not be the Case with some others for their Conduct.—My Waggon Horses are droping down in the Geers for want of Forage as the whole business of finishing the Stores and Fort must Stop on the Occasion unless I fall on some other method to Supply myself with forage, I shall put no farther dependence in Col^o^ Steel for Supplying me with any article of this kind.—I this day have ordered one of my Officers and Twenty Men and all the Boats up the River to bring forage from where it can be had and have given the Positive Instructions to take it wherever it was to be had, and for the persons to bring in their Accounts and they Shall be Settled according to what they were to be allowed by a Board of Officers

[1] For Daniel Sullivan see *Frontier Defense*, 233, note 96. The Yohogania court records for Mar. 24, 1779, show that White Eyes's estate was to be administered by Thomas Smallman.

or by the Magistrates of the respective Countys which I am in hopes by that means I shall be able to have a Thousand Bushels here in a few days from this time—I purpose to have all the Stores brought down from Fort Pitt Immediately that belongs to the Q. Masters Dept and Commissarys to prevent their going there, for when they go there I can see no more of them &c[a]

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE CAPTURE OF DETROIT

[Col. George Gibson[1] to Gen. George Washington. Washington Papers. Contemporary transcript.]

1778 Nov 13

In compliance with Your Excellency's commands I now venture to offer my Sentiments on the Subject of Chastising the Savages in that part of Our Western world with which I am acquainted. To effect which it will be highly expedient to reduce the Garrison of Detroit situated at the Streights between the Lakes Erie & Huron, to Establish intermediate posts & to erect Garrisons one at Post S[t] Vincents on the Ouabasche [Wabash] & the other at Kaskaskias on the Mississippi, by which means the Indians inhabiting the Northwest Side the Ohio will be effectually prevented from receiving any Supplys from British or other Emissary's —Three thousand men will be sufficient for the reduction of Detroit & for the purpose of establishing intermediate Posts, 1200 of which at least should be Regular Troops the others may be composed of Frontier men—The Expedition to be conducted by two different routes & a Junction to be formed at Rocher à Bout[2] on the Miyamis [Maumee] River that empties itself into Lake Erie about six Leagues from the mouth of Said river—The rendezvous for the two armies I wou'd recommend to be at Fort Pitt & Kanhawa, the whole to be ready to march about the middle of July, before which time it wou'd be impracticable to march a Body of Troops thro' that country on account of the many Deep Guts (Creeks) none of which are taken notice of by Geographists, besides this country abounds with Rich Wet lands, called Crabb

[1] For Capt. George Gibson see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 144, note 51.

[2] Usually styled Roche de Bout, it is a rocky point on the Maumee River about a mile above the modern Waterville in Lucas County, Ohio. It is near the site of Wayne's battle with the Indians in 1794.

Apple Bottoms & upon approaching the Lakes one finds low Beachy Wet Grounds, which wou'd Impede & hinder the March of Troops at any time before the Month of July or August The army from Fort Pitt consisting of 1500 should follow exactly the rout persued by Genl Boquet to Tuscaraawa, on Muskingum Creek, from thence the Trading Path to Rocher à Bout, at which place the Junction shou'd be made & whence the distance to Detroit is not more than from 40 to 60 Miles, The Army from Point pleasant will cross the Ohio & march by the nearest Rout betwixt the waters of the Sciotha & Hockhocking rivers to the place of Junction. The distance from Kanhawa to Detroit is greater than from Fort Pitt to Detroit But I have two reasons to offer for recommending this plann—The Rendezvouz at the different places will be better accommodated to the troops of the extensive Frontier of Virginia than if they were confined to one for instance, the Large Supply's of Provisions Men & Bat horses &c which may be drawn from Green Brier & the neighbouring counties shou'd assemble at Point Pleasant whilst on the other hand, Sources to be drawn from Berkeley, Frederick, Hampshire & West Augusta wou'd assemble at Fort Pitt. The Artillery requisite for the reduction of Detroit shou'd be marched with the army from Fort Pitt.—Some light pieces such as are called Grasshoppers wou'd be exceedingly necessary to the Troops that march from Kanhawa. The assemblage of two such considerable Body's of Troops at such a distance from each other wou'd divide & distract the Councils of the Savages, Facilitate the enterprize & prevent the Indians from raising any Corn which was the Case in the Year –74.[1] Previous to the marching these troops I wou'd recommend the embarkation of a Body of men not less than 750, in Batteaux to go down the Ohio for the purpose of Erecting Garrisons at Kaskaskias & Post Vincent this Step wou'd prevent the Kickaapou's, Piangeshaw's & Ouiochtennan[2] from assisting the others as they wou'd be afraid to leave their Habitations while so considerable a force was in their country—The Country of the Illinois will amply Supply double this number of men with provisions at a much more moderate

[1] The reference is to Dunmore's War in 1774.

[2] Three prominent Indian tribes dwelling on the Wabash River. The Kickapoo were formerly dwellers in Wisconsin, on the Fox River, and the branch of the Wisconsin known by their name. They removed to the Wabash early in the eighteenth century and had a village near the Ouiatanon. The Piankashaw were a tribe of Miami origin; their village was not far from Vincennes. For the Ouiatanon (Wea) Indians see *Frontier Defense*, 118, note 81.

rate than they cou'd be purchased in these States, in the Year 67 five hundred rations were Issued dayly to the Troops in Garrison at Fort Chartres & Kaskaskias, besides Large Qtys. exported from thence to New Orleans since which the French who inhabited the Vicinage of Detroit have removed to that Country from which I wou'd infer that Agriculture must have encreased & the Certainty of Subsisting an Army in that Country greater—Horses superior to any I have seen in any other part of America for the purpose of mounting light dragoons may be procured in that Country. they are a mixture of the Barbary & common American Wood horse. Generally 14 to 14½ hands high exceeding mettlesome & very Allert, they are used by the Natives in chasing ye Buffaloe—Having reduced the Garrison of Detroit & established Garrisons at the places before mention'd we will have it in our Power to prescribe such terms to the Savages as We may think proper—

I have the Honor to be with the Greatest respect Your Excelly^s^ Obed^t^ Servt

GEO GIBSON

13th 9b^r^ –78

FAILURE OF THE COMMISSARY DEPARTMENT

[Gen. Lachlan McIntosh to Col. Richard Campbell. Washington Papers. Contemporary transcript.]

CAMP N° 8 SANDY CREEK[1] Friday 13th Novm^r^ 1778

SIR:

I Just rec^d^ your letter of the 10th by Fleming and Anderson and approve of your dilligence in procuring Provision and forage, which we shall stand in need of, especially Salt Whiskey and flour, the Prices of forage was regulated only by a Court of Officers which Col^o^ Steel will shew you at large and Liquors by the Court.

This is the 10th day I have been upon my march, I am not 50 miles from your fort yet owing to the scandelous Pack Horses that were imposed upon me, notwithstanding the many Charges I gave old Brady and the Q. Masters several days before I set off, above one half of them tires every day before we Travel two or three miles, and the woods is Strewed with those that have given

[1] Big Sandy Creek, an eastern affluent of Tuscarawas, along whose northern bank the path to the Delaware towns led.

out and dyed. I have now but Sixteen or Seventeen Miles to Tuscorawas yet I much fear I shall not be able to Carry our Provisions and Stores that length. I have put Elliott[1] under arrest for his neglect and Insolence and expect you will do the same with Brady. I find there is no other way to manage this Gent[n] upon whom our all depends and on whom all our disapointments Should be charged. &ca

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[Extract of letters from Col. Archibald Steel to Col. Richard Campbell. Washington Papers. Contemporary transcript.]

PITTSBURGH 16th & 17th November 1778

SIR:

The reason of my not making you a Return of my Stores before this time is this, this same time there hath been such Confusion in every Dep[t] and in particular in mine that I cant furnish you with a Return for some time which I hope will be in a few days. you seem to be particular in demanding a Just Return, do you know that ever I made a false one? I will make such Returns as I think to be Just to the best of my knowledge—I must tell you Sir it appears to me in your letters you are not accquainted With my business in this Country, if you do you mean to insult me. I shall repeat it to you again, I have and will do all in my power to furnish every thing for the Army that belongs, for my Department &c[a]

And in a Postscript of another letter dated Novm[r] 27th—1778 he says—

in a few days I hope to make you a Return of forty thousand Bushels of Forage on this side of the Mountains and Sixty thousand on the other side of ditto, besides Hay &c[a] &c[a]

[1] Robert Elliott of Pittsburgh, a trader and contractor, was a partner of Col. John Campbell. In 1781 he made a profitable trading voyage to New Orleans. He was contractor for Wayne's army in 1794 when he was killed by Indians.

[Extract of a letter from Col. Richard Campbell to Gen. Lachlan McIntosh. Washington Papers. Contemporary transcript.]

FORT M°INTOSH Novm^r^ 18th 1778

Dr GENERAL:

I have sent Mr Nicholas to inform you of our Circumstances at this Garrison &c^a^.

Since I fell in the plan mentioned in my letter of the 10th—it appears I have plenty of forage Coming in both by land and water. I expect to have a 1000 or 1500 Bushels at this Spot in a few days, and Shall be able to keep my Waggon Horses going, and hope to have that much always by me—I have not seen Colo. Steel Since the Day after you left this, I have always heard of his being at Fort Pitt, I have wrote to him to attend at this post as this was the place Business must always Center in, and I have ordered every person at the head of every dep^t^ to make this their Head Quarters, but they have not Complyed—there is no news of Colo Morgan yet, and I have ordered Mr Gardner that represents him, to attend here, and have never Seen him, but I am determined the Moment they arrive here, to Call them to an account for disobeydence of orders and neglect of duty. I get no man to do any thing here, but Lockhart in the Q^r^ Masters Dep^t^ &c^a^—Capt Lockhart has given me a Return of the Cattle at this place of his purchase, the Number is 1200, as to Col° Morgans purchase I cannot say any thing about it, for there is no person here that can or will give me any account of his business. I am making use of every means to draw in all the Stores to this Post, but it will be some time before I shall get it accomplished, each Officer in the Staff Dep^t^ wants to Act as he pleases, and will take Some time before I get things in a proper Channel. I am endevouring to Collect a Return of all the Stores and Provisions on this side Allegany Mountains that I may furnish you with a Return of the Whole &c^a^ I this Instant Rec^d^ a Return of all the flour on this side of the Allegany Mountains or all that can be got to this post by the last of Jany and I am Sorry to inform you that there is not more than will Serve the army now under your Command Sixty Two Days. I Calculated the Quanty of flour by the Number of Rations drawn, so you may see what you have to depend on. this is a Certainty, the five hundred Horses that is now gone to Fort Cumberland to bring flour and Salt to this post will not be able to return more than once this Winter, it will take

every Horse that is fit for service at this place to send you the Articles, I intend to send by the detachment from this Garrison on the 25th the Horses at this place are all such as you have along with your Army. you will be able to Judge if they Will be able for any further service this winter the hundred Bushels of Salt you now Call for will take the whole but fifteen Bushels that is on this Side of the Mountains, So that I shall not be able to Slaughter one Beef, till the Salt arrives from the Other Side, there has Certainly been a very Great Neglect in the Qr Masters or Comys in laying in the Stores for the use of this Expedition I am afraid that your Army will Suffer this winter for Provisions,— you Called for a Reinforcement of Militia, there will not be any provision for them against they arrive at this place, &cª.

[Extract of a letter from Col. John Irwin[1] to Col. Richard Campbell. Washington Papers. Contemporary transcript.]

FORT PITT Novmr 19th 1778

I fear that the Salting our Beef at Fort M°Intosh will be greatly retarded by the demand of 100 Bushels of Salt made by the General—Which I am sure will not leave 20 Bushels behind, I am endevouring to borrow about 50 Bushels at this place, which I intend taking down with me the Morrow or Next day at furthest, as also a hand Mill for Grinding it, if it can be Possibly procured &cª I find that we will be Universally distressed for want of Salt, there is not half enough in Store here, for Curing the Quantity of Beef. I would incline to lay in here and at some other Stations to the eastward of this place, and it appears to me that in a few Weeks more our Beeves in every Quarter will be wasted to mere Skeletons. I am really very much distress'd on the thoughts of this very great misfortune, the want of Salt &cª

[1] John Irwin was at this time a resident of Pittsburgh, acting as deputy commissary-general of issues. In 1782 he was acting in the same capacity at the same place. He had been an Indian trader, but retired at the beginning of the Revolution. The Irwin family lived in Westmoreland County where John Irwin died June 3, 1818.

[Col. Richard Campbell to Col. Archibald Steel. Washington Papers. Contemporary transcript.]

FORT M°INTOSH Novm^r^ 20th 1778

SIR:

I rec^d^ your favour by Mr Bryson, and I am sorry to find that you are determined to pay no regard to my orders. I have wrote the third time to you, requesting you Immediately to repair to this place, for there is the Greatest Necessity for you to be here for a few days, if you dont Immediately Repair to this place on the Recp^t^ of this letter, I must be under the Necessity of sending an express to the Genl that he may employ some person who will comply with orders, for our Army is not to Suffer by disobeydience of orders and Neglect of duty, and you must abide by the Consequence but pray come to prevent disputes

I am &c RICH^d^ CAMPBELL Col^o^ Com.

ORDERS FOR VIRGINIA MILITIA COUNTERMANDED

[Orders of the Virginia Council. 13S146–47. Transcript.]

Nov. 20, 1778, The Board having had under their Mature Deliberation the Information given them, that Genl M°Intosh has very lately made a demand for 200 men from each of the counties of Washington, Montgomery, Botetourt, Greenbrier & Rockbridge to join him on his expedition against the Indians, & that they are ordered to march immediately to the Delaware towns; & considering the impracticability of marching the troops at this inclement season thro' a country destitute of supplies; & that the want of tents, kettles, provisions, & indeed every necessary for such an undertaking, would inevitably render compliance with the General's request impossible. They (tho' it was with reluctance they interfered) advised the Govr to counteract the General's orders to the County Lieuts. of ye aforenamed Counties for two hundred men from each to join him. Which his Excellency did accordingly.

[Gov. Patrick Henry to Col. William Fleming. 2U50. L. S.]

WMSBURG Novr 20th 1778

SIR:

I have been given to understand that General McIntosh has very lately demanded two hundred men from your County to join him on his Expedition against this Indians, & that they are ordered to march immediately to the Delaware Towns. This matter has been maturely considered in full Council: and the Result is, that I am advised to countermand the Generals orders, which I do hereby countermand. I need not tell you that it is with great Reluctance the Executive have interfered in this affair. But the impracticability of marching the Troops at this inclement Season, thro' a Country destitute of Supplies: The want of Tents, Kettles, provisions, & I may add of every necessary for such an undertaking render a Compliance with the Generals Request absolutely impossible.

I am Sir Y^{r} mo. hble Servt

P. HENRY

COUNTY LIEUTENANT OF BOTETOURT

[Col. William Christian to Stephen Trigg. 2U51. A. L. S.]

HAW-BOTTOM Novr 22^{d} 1778

DEAR BROTHER:[1]

I was lately at the Bottom, and your Family were well, except an easy hooping Cough the Children had. Negroes are seemingly still dear here and I suppose Goods also. Hemp rises fast, and also Wagonage. I expect a Dollar a mile will soon be the standard. I have offered Nineteen pounds for a load to Mahanaim[2] but can get none. Not one under 3£ per Day & found every Thing. Salt is much wanted. I hear a Law is talked off to stop stilling. If so the assem[bly] will deserve the Thanks of the State, for going through with it, nothing could contribute more to our Good. That business raises every Thing.

G^{l} Macintosh has ordered Drafts from all these back counties,

[1] Trigg and Christian were brothers-in-law, the wife of the former being a sister of the latter.

[2] Col. William Christian's estate at Dunkard Bottom on New River.

I am told even from Greenbrier Montgomery & Washington. I enclose you a true Copy of his orders to this County, You may show them to Col° Bowyer, Col Campbell & what others You Think necessary. Lord deliver us from such oppression. I dont know what the People will do. I have advised a meeting to send down a Remonstrance. Col Fleming should be consulted. Tomorrow the Drafts are generally to be made in this County. About the 3^{d} this Month Genl Macintosh Marched from Beaver Creek 30 miles below Fort Pitt for the Delawar Towns 100 miles farther with about 1000 Men. And it is reported that 300 were Regulars. Had these Militia been ordered to join him ab^{t} the first of June next under proper officers, and marched by the Point [Pleasant] something might have been done. It seems to me he has no Thoughts at all of the Shawnese, but that Detroit is his Object. The absurdity of the present measures wants no explanation. This Letter I expect to send Tomorrow by Parson Smith. Remem^{r} Window Glass for me

I am Dear Sir Your Obed^{t}

W^{M} CHRISTIAN

DELAWARES COUNCIL WITH McINTOSH

[Gen. Lachlan McIntosh's speech to the Delawares. Washington Papers. Contemporary transcript.]

General M°Intoshs Speech to the Deleware Council at the Camp at Tuscorawas Sunday Novm^{r} 22^{d} 1778

BROTHERS:

I listened with attention and pleasure to the Talk you have given me. that with your Conduct Convinces me the hearts of the Coschocking people are good which will always be Remembered by your Brothers the Congress and Great Council of the United States of America, they have sent me to protect you, and Chastise our Common Enemys, but as many of the Indians have been decieved and Cheated by the English at Detroit,—I have ordered Great Guns, Waggons, Horses, Cattle and flour enough to be got ready to take that place and am determined never to leave this Country untill that is done, *and if the Weather Should be too Cold now it will be warm again by and by. I am not in a hurry as I am sure of succeeding*

Brothers: I am come here at your own desire and in a hurry now, with only a few thousands of my men and not well Supplyed in order to assist you, as you told me you were in danger, but I must stay here a little while to make a fort for my provisions, as it is in my path to Detroit by and by, and will be near enough to assist you, and When this Fort is done, I will make another where you please, but wish you would Chuse some place nearer than Coschocking to make it where your people might come and be safe as they seemed a little afraid of my going there some time ago.

Brothers: As I believe many of the Indians have been decieved and Cheated by the presents and lies of the English, and Struck us their Country Men against their Inclination—to try therefore who are inclined for liberty and America, and Who love Slavery and foreigners While I stay here—I will for this once allow fourteen days from this time for any of their Chiefs or head men of their Familys to come and Treat and know upon what Terms they shall have peace with us, *and to give sufficient security for their future good behaviour,* which I desire you to inform them of by runners Immediately, and if any nations or Tribes refuses this offer now, I will never make it again nor rest or leave this Country, but pursue them While any of them remain upon the face of the earth for I can fill the woods with men as the Trees, or as the stones are on the Ground—therefore I would have them to Consider this well in time before it is too late and especially my Country Men the Shawanese, the Delewares who are gone astray the Tawas and Chipwas.[1]

Brothers: Our Horses are come a great way and are poor.—I therefore desire you will bring me all the Corn you can Spare to feed them, and I will pay you for it, and also all the Horses, Cattle, Hogs, deer skins, Venison or any thing else you can spare and I will buy them from you, and bring them soon to me.—I will either give you goods for them which we have enough of now from the French and are coming up here, or money Immediately.

A String of White Wampum

Note, the parts of this Speech marked with a line or Stroke under was not delivered to the Indians,—as the Colonels Brodhead, Crawford and Gibson had some objections to it.—After the Indians, Signifyed their approbation and thanks for the Offers made the Indians.—the General told them, that whoever refused the Offer he now gave them which was partly owing to the Con-

[1] The Ottawa and Chippewa Indians, for whom see *Rev. Upper Ohio, passim.*

nection our friends the Delewares had among them and their being deceived by the English, that any nation or people who would not afterwards Join us heartily by taking up the Hatchet with us, and Striking, such refractory People Should be looked upon as Enemys to the United States of America—upon which declaration they Set up a General Laugh.

After this Conference the General proposed settling the prices of what they had to sell us, which was left by them all to Cap[t] John Kilbuck, and done by the General. Col[o] Gibson and him as follows

Horses.—from 30 to 50 Doll[s] according to the Goodness
Deer Skins—1 dollar for Bucks and ½ dollar for doe Skins
Corn—1 Dollar P Bushell
Pork Cleaned 4[d] Pennsylvania money P pound
Beef and Vinison 3[d] ditto P pound
live Cattle and hogs in proportion, according to their Size, as we can agree.—
all to be delivered at Tuscorawas and paid for in money or Certificates for which the Indians are to get Goods at what they cost the United States of America.

TROOPS FROM FREDERICK COUNTY

[Summary of a resolution of the Virginia Council, Nov. 28, 1778. Printed in *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XXIII, 266.]

Orders 200 militia from Frederick County, and countermands an order for 100 additional militia from Berkeley County, that had sent nearly 300 men to General McIntosh.

WOOD FOR FORT PITT GARRISON

[Extract of a letter from Capt. Henry Heath to Col. Richard Campbell. Washington Papers. Contemporary transcript.]

FORT PITT November 29th —1778

I fear I shall be under a necessity of arresting Col[o] Steel the Q. Master as he dont do his duty nor Comply with orders.—

When the General left this place he Gave me possitive orders not to Suffer any wood to be drawn into the Town of Pittsburgh. I gave Steel those orders and to my great Surprise he orders the Wood to be Left in the Town where he thinks proper, I think there is four waggons employed by the Public, for the use of this Garrison, which is rather too few for that purpose, as all the wood is to be drawn three miles and on Very bad road,—There is not a Team able to hawl half a load, in the order the road is in, however we might be Supplyed tolerably with them, was the Wood all brought to the Fort, what does come the Hospital consumes one half, there is so many Sick, I ordered Steel to give me a Report of the Number of Waggons employed in the public service at this place, that he has not yet complyed with I should be very happy to spend a few days with you, but cant give myself that pleasure, while the Command of this place lies on me, What I mean as too Colo. Steels duty is with regard to the Waggons employed to Supply this Garrison with fuel and suffering them to be employed in drawing wood to those who are not entitled to be supplyed at the Expence of the public.—I would thank you Sir to forward a Copy of this to the General, with my best respects.—I enclose you some letters for the Genl left with me, and for other Gentlemen

I am &c^{a} HENRY HEATH

SUPPLIES BEING FORWARDED

[Extract of a letter from Col. Richard Campbell to Gen. Lachlan McIntosh. Washington Papers. Contemporary transcript.]

FORT M'INTOSH Decm^{r} 1^{t} 1778

I have made repeated demands to Colo: Steel for A Return of the Horses in his Department which he has never complyed with, all the accounts I can get is from Capt^{a} Lockhart, respecting the Horses in the Q. Masters Department which he will inform you of in his letter. You Mention to me in your letter, that you wish to see Capt Lockhart at your Head Quarters, respecting the Provision and Stores, he would Chearfully Comply with your request, but the whole business of the Collecting Beef, Cattle, and forwarding your Supplys must come through his hands, for there is no other active man at this place, in that Dep^{t} I can depend on,

Col° Steel left this two days after you, and never appeared Since but once, then only Continued one day, the whole dependence of your Army is on my conduct at this post and I must have men to depend on also. I have Enclosed you a Copy of Col° Steels Instructions from me, immediately when I took the Com[d] of this post which he has never complyed with &c[a].

ORDERS FOR MILITIA COUNTERMANDED

[Col. William Christian to Stephen Trigg. 2U52. A. L. S.]

STONE HOUSE Dec[r] 5. 1778

DEAR BROTHER:

I left your house this Morning all were well there. John Read goes down with the Pot clay & some other Indians;[1] they ought to be treated kindly & sent home with some Presents, be their Business ever so triffling. Col [Evan] Shelbey referred Read to me; but I cannot interfere, so as to press them homewards again although I think their Business down is little, Having nothing to do with Indian business. They are now 300 miles on their Way and I suppose may as well Proceed with good Words, as otherwise.

You need not expect to purchase Negroes up here, or defer buying below on that acc°. They are risen here greatly since you went away and all buyers, and no sellers; You had better buy below cost what they will, as you are in want. Nothing but Peace can stop their rising more and more. Salt is £13 per Bushell at M[r] Lockarts in Town. It was well Gov[t] countermanded Macintoshs orders; because Men could not be got to go.

I am Dear Sir Your affec[t] W[m] CHRISTIAN

[1] John Read was ensign in Campbell's company in Dunmore's War; the Indians in all probability were of the Cherokee tribe, who in 1777 concluded a peace with the southwestern frontiersmen.

INDIAN INTERPRETER

[Commission to John Dodge. Morgan Letter Book III. Transcript.]

WAR OFFICE Decem[r] 5th. 1778

To M[r] John Dodge[1]

SIR: In consideration of your suffering in the Cause of American Liberty & of your Character & Usefulness you are hereby authorized & directed to repair to the Western or Fort Pitt Departm[t] where you will act as Interpreter in the Indian Languages obeying such directions as you will receive from time to time from the Commanding Officer of that Department or the Agent of Indian Affairs of the United States. For your services herein you will receive the Pay & Rations of a Captain in the services of these States untill the further order of Congress or this Board. By order of the Board

RICHARD PETERS

FORT LAURENS BUILT

[Gen. Lachlan McIntosh to Col. William Fleming. 2U53. A. L. S.][2]

FORT LAURENS UPON MUSKINGUM RIVER[3]
Monday 7th December 1778

SIR:

I have advanced thus far into the Indian Country and built a good large Stockade Fort here, with Barracks to Contain two

[1] For John Dodge see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 55, note 83.

[2] For a replica of this letter written to the county lieutenant of Montgomery County see *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XXIII, 267–68.

[3] "Fort Laurens was seated on the west side of the Tuscar[awas] [branch of the Muskingum] on the bank half a mile below the mouth of Sandy Creek [the present Bolivar]. It was a stockaded fort, with two gates, one next the river & one the oposite side—pickets 12 or 14 feet high—Two rows of pickets, one placed on the bank of earth that was thrown from the ditch, which was about 4 feet wide & 3 feet deep—this covered 3 sides of the fort, the river covering the other side, within the pickets & near them the sides of the fort were lined with ranges of cabins, built of logs & covered with split clapboards—on each side of the river gate, rows of pickets extended to low water mark in the river, for the protection of the soldiers in going & returning for water. Built in Nov.

hundred men, or more when they can be had, to make Excursions to any of the Hostile Towns, who will dare offend and insult us, which I hope will Secure the peace of our Frontiers in this quarter at least.

but unhappily the Short Engagements of the Militia prevented my proceeding any farther, and disapointed all my other Schemes, their times were neer out, and I could not prevail upon them to remain longer, which Shews the necessity of making their term of Service hereafter on Such an Expedition as this, and Such a distance, Six Months from the time they Rendesvous at Fort M°-Intosh, otherwise it will be Needless trouble to the people, and expence to the public, which I expect will be Considered by your State, and the Lieutenants of each County.

I wrote to you the 30th October for some men to relieve those now here, but as I find nothing more can be done this Winter, I must request you to put a Stop to their march at this time, only to have them ready when I shall require them in the Spring, which I expect to do, and inform you of in time.

I have the Honor to be Sir. Your most ob[t] Serv[t]

LACH[N] M°INTOSH

LIEUTENANT OF BOTTETOUR COUNTY

[Recollections of Henry Jolly.[1] 6NN25.]

A few days after Gen[l] M°Intosh commenced building a fort on the west Bank of the tuscaraway, three companies were detached for the purpose of escorting provisions from Fort M°Intosh

& Decr. 1778, evac. in 1779, Augst. It covered about one acre of ground." Draper Mss., 6NN36. The outlines of the fort were clearly traceable in 1850 but the eastern front was destroyed by a canal.

[1] Henry Jolly was born in Chester County, Pa., Dec. 28, 1757; he removed in 1767 to York, and in 1770 to Chartier's Creek near Washington, Pa. He enlisted in the state troops in 1776, became a member of Morgan's famous rifle corps, was at Princeton and Saratoga, and went west in the summer of 1778 to act under General McIntosh. Jolly was honorably discharged in 1779, married in 1781, and served as captain of militia during the Indian wars. In 1806 he removed to Washington County, Ohio, where he died July 29, 1842. He was for seven years associate judge for his county, served in the state legislature, and as county commissioner. He furnished much material on early history to S. P. Hildreth of Marietta, who sent large portions of his manuscripts to Dr. Draper.

for the purpose of supporting the troops that might be left in the new Garrison, two companies of regulars and one of Militia, the three companies returned to fort M°Intosh (70 miles) all the pack horses that went out with the army returned with the said three companies, to Fort M°Intosh and after waiting there some days for provisions, the pack horses were again loaded, and set out under the same escort for tuscaraway, on the head of yellow creek,[1] the escort began to meet parties of the Militia, rushing on toward the ohio with all possible speed, the company of Militia composing fully one third of the escort Joined their Companions and returned, leaving the two companies of regulars (of which I was one) to Guard the provisions to the fort, Some distance down Sandy creek, we met General M°Intosh Co[l] Brodhead and Co[l] Crawford, with the regular troops, and a few Militia, Marching in tollerably good order, we encamped that night about five miles from the fort, and the next day delivered the provision, and one company remained at the fort, and the pack horses were escorted back to fort M°Intosh, by a single company, I presume about fifty men, under the command of Lieut G. P. (a poor thing) we arrived all safe on Christmas eve at Fort M°Intosh. I was with Gen[l] M°Intosh when he went out with the relief to Co[l] Gibson, I was an eye witness to the distruction of the provisions, when Gen[l] M°Intosh arrived in view of the fort,[2] It was late in the evening, when it happened, a great part of the flour was lost, a considerable part of next day was spent hunting horses, and the day following the troops Marched for fort M°Intosh, Maj[r] Vernon left to command the fort, about the first of June he was releived by Lieut Co[l] Campbell of the Virginia line, on the first or second of August, the Garrison was evacuated, I was one of the last that left it—we arrived at fort Pitt on the seventh.

[1] The route from Fort McIntosh to Fort Laurens was the same as that taken in 1764 by Col. Henry Bouquet on his punitive expedition against the Delawares. The map drawn by Thomas Hutchins, assistant engineer, lays down the route in detail. It struck nearly west across present Beaver County, Pa., and Columbiana, Carroll, and Tuscarawas counties, Ohio; heading Yellow Creek in Franklin Township, Columbiana County, it followed along the north bank of Sandy Creek, crossing the Tuscarawas just above the junction of the two streams. For Yellow Creek, see *Dunmore's War*, Index.

[2] See *post*, 256–57 for this event.

[Col. John Gibson to Gen. Lachlan McIntosh. 1E49–50. A. L. S.][1]

FORT LAURENS Dec[r] 21[st] 1778

DEAR GENERAL:

This day Cap[t] John KillBuck and Seven Delawares Came here, By the Inclosed Speeches you will be able to judge of their Dispo[si]tion towards us. By what I can learn from KillBuck [they are] heartily Sorry for the part they have [taken and are] inclined for peace. I have almost [finished the] Setting up and Ramming the pickets [and in a few days] I think I can bid them Defiance.

I intend sending M[r] Sample[2] with him to Coochaucking with about 20 horses to purchase cattle, corn, &c; and as he has promised to conduct him back, I am in hopes there will be no danger. With what cattle he can purchase, I am in hopes we shall have beef enough, and that we shall also have a sufficient quantity of flour until a farther supply can be sent.

The distressed situation of the men for clothing prevents the work from going on so briskly as otherwise it would; if any supply of that article should have arrived, please to order it forward. * * *

You will infinitely oblidge me in sending me the Newspapers and any Intelligence you may have Rece[d] from the Army.

The Waters Being high prevented me sending the Express as soon as I Intended. I am afraid the [he] may yet Be detained as the waters are still high. You may Expect if the weather permits a weekly Return of all Occurrences.

In the Mean time, I am with Respect Dear General, your most obedient humble Servant

JN[o] GIBSON

[Ms. torn] letter inclosed from M[r] Zeisberger, the [Ms. torn] should have been approved.

Since my last, the men who formerly attempted to mutiny, have behaved extremely well, and unanimity prevails amongst us.

[1] The original manuscript is badly mutilated; missing portions have been supplied from a transcript in 15S34.

[2] Samuel Sample was innkeeper at Pittsburgh, and Washington stayed at his house on his visit to the West in 1770. Sample acted as deputy quartermaster-general in Mc Intosh's campaign and was left at Fort Laurens to aid in its provisioning.

INDIANS WELL DISPOSED

[Message from Delaware and Wyandot chiefs. 1H16–17. In handwriting of Col. John Gibson.]

FORT LAURENS Decr 21st 1778

Information Received by Capt John KillBuck from Capt Pipe and the Wiandot Half King.

Capt pipes Message

BROTHER:

I am greatly Rejoiced to hear the Message you sent me; you make mention in your Speech to me of the loss of my Relations, who were killed last Spring at the Salt Licks.[1] I now inform you that I never thought of it, until your mentioning of it, put me in mind of it. I now acquaint that my heart is good and that I never meant to quit the hold I have of the friendship subsisting Between us. If you are desirous of Speaking of the Loss of my friends, who were killed at the Salt Licks, there is a great many of my Relations at Cooshackung; your speaking to them will answer the same End as Speaking to me. As the Weather is very Cold, I cannot tell you in how many nights I shall come to see you, But you may Depend on it shall be soon.

A string White Wampum.

The Wiandot Half Kings Speech

Brother the Big Knife: I am Rejoiced to hear the Message you sent me, and that you desire me, if I am inclined for peace, to Come and treat of it. Brother I now inform you that I shall Acquaint my Chiefs of it who are over the Lakes and what ever they Bid me that I shall do. Brother in the mean Time I desire you will Remain where you are, until I Recieve their Answer. But if you are Determined to proceed on your Road to Detroit, I desire you will keep at some distance from my Towns, then I shall be able to prevent my foolish young men from doing any harm, which probably I cou'd not be able to do, Shoud you March thro my towns. Shoud my Chiefs send no answer you may Expect to see me in a few days.[2]

A string white wampum

[1] For Captain Pipe, the Delaware chief, see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 80, note 6. His reference is to the killing of his relatives in Hand's "Squaw Campaign." See *Frontier Defense*, 218.

[2] See the British report of the attitude of the Wyandot in *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 109.

He also informs me that Wryneck a Chief of the Pickawee tribe of the Shawnese,[1] left his town four nights agoe, and promised to Return in twenty night[s] with the Chiefs of his Nation to treat of peace that all the Western Nations had made peace with Co[l] Clark at Wabash, and that he had Returnd to the falls of the Ohio.[2]

Information Rec[d] by Cap[t] Killbuck

McINTOSH'S OFFICIAL REPORT

[Gen. Lachlan McIntosh to Vice-President George Bryan. *Pa. Archives*, VII, 131–33.][3]

Fort Pitt, 29th December, 1778.

Dear Sir:

As I have given the particulars of an Expedition to our friend, General Armstrong,[4] by Colo. Bayard, I beg leave to refer you to him, & shall only inform you, that notwithstanding the season was so late, that we could not get a sufficiency of supplies, & the men so Tedious before they came & Joined me, with many other Difficulties I had to encounter; I erected a good strong Fort for the Reception & Security of Prisoners & stores, upon the Indian side

[1] This chief took part in the council of July 10, 1776. See *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 41. The Pickawee (or Pick) tribe is noted, *ibid.*, 15, note 30.

[2] Col. George Rogers Clark treated with the Western Indians in August, 1778, at Cahokia, Ill. See his own accounts in *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 125–29, 242–57. His lieutenant, Leonard Helm, at Vincennes on the Wabash treated with the chiefs of that vicinity. *Ibid.*, 73, 241–42. For certificates of Clark's treaties with the Winnebago and Foxes see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 113, 117, 178. Clark was not at the Falls of the Ohio, but at Kaskaskia. For his report of McIntosh's advance see *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 131–32.

[3] The transcript made by Dr. Draper (1NN31) being incomplete, the full text of the letter is taken from *Pa. Archives*, VII, 131–33.

George Bryan (1731–91) was a native of Ireland, who after having emigrated to America, entered a mercantile establishment in Philadelphia. He was the first vice-president of the executive council of Pennsylvania.

[4] Gen. John Armstrong was born in Ireland in 1725; having emigrated to Pennsylvania he was very active in the French and Indian War, and at the beginning of the Revolution was commissioned brigadier-general in the Continental army. Owing to some dissatisfaction with regard to rank he resigned April 4, 1777, and retired to his home in Carlisle. There he was successively brigadier-general and major-general of Pennsylvania militia, served two terms in Congress, and died in 1795.

of Ohio below Beaver Creek, with Barracks for a Regiment; and another upon the Muskingam River, where Colo. Bocquette [Bouquet] had one formerly near Tuscorawas, about 100 Miles West of this place, which I expect will keep the Savages in aw, & Secure the peace of the frontiers effectually in this quarter hereafter if they are well supported, & also facilitate any future Enterprises that may be attempted that way. But I must observe to you, that all the Militia I had were from the State of Virginia, & none from Pennsylvania, nor would they be of any Service if they were willing, & had Joined me, as your present Militia Law, I understand, allows them, or, which comes to the same thing, does not oblige them to serve above two Months, one half of which will commonly be taken up in collecting them together & the other half with Incumbrances, Disappointments, &c., always incident to Expeditions carryed on to any Distance, will not enable them to perform near the march, before they are for returning home again; & one may as well attempt stopping the current of a River, as Militia when their times are out.

I mention this Inconveniency of your Militia Law as it now stands, to you, Sir, in hopes that you will endeavour to have it altered as soon as possible, at least before we are ready for a Campaign in the Spring; that if any advantage or Honor is acquired by it, your State may have its share: it suffers as much, or more than any other from the Incursions of the Savages, therefore your own Interest, & Justice to the sufferers, as well as the reputation of the State demands every possible assistance to retaliate & cheque their repeated Barbarities and Ravages upon the poor helpless & peaceable Inhabitants of your Country. & in my humble opinion, without a Law is framed to oblige y^{m} to serve for six Months (if so long required) from the time they all appear at the place appointed by a Commanding officer for them to rendevous, & be made more Coercive, or until relieved by another Draft if there should be occasion; it will answer no valuable purpose. And should it be objected that this would be an Infringement upon their Liberty, let such Law continue or be in force only in such circumstances as we are now in, or at least until the Savages are subdued & our frontiers safe. I find there is an unhappy contest for Territory Subsisting here between your State & Virginia, in which I have carefully avoided interfering or having the least concern in, as it was out of my power to remedy it, altho' often applied to by both sides, and only mention it now, to observe & Submit it to you, if

any part of your Claim should be conquered without your assistance whether it would not weaken your pretentions, & add proportionable force to those who gave the greatest help towards it. But I will submit these Reasonings to the Wisdom of your Legislature, & hope you will not think it Impertinent or Improper in my present situation that I request you to propose this alteration to them, as I know & have experienced it to be necessary in the present critical situation of this Department.

With every mark of Respect, I have the honor to be, Dr Sir, Your most ob^t^ Hble Servt,

LACH^N^ MCINTOSH, Command^g^ west of the Mono^s^.

The bearer Col^o^ De Cambray has accompanyed me since I have been here, & can give any information required respecting the circumstances of this department, he is a Gentlemen of real Merit, & beg Leave to introduce him to your acquaintance.

[*Addressed:*] Public Service. The Honble George Bryan, Esqr. Vice President of the State of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Favoured by Colo. Cambray.

CONDITIONS AT FORT LAURENS

[Col. John Gibson to Gen. Lachlan McIntosh. 1E51. A. L. S.]

FORT LAURENS Jany 1st 1779.

[DEAR] GENERAL

Since my last nothing material has happened, only one man of my Reg^t^ having deserted. But as he took of[f] the Cannoe and went down the River I am in hopes the Delawares will Catch him and Bring him Back. Mr Sample who went to Cooshackung is not yet Returned, the Weather has been very Cold and the Rivers very high, which I Imagine may have Detained him. By the inclosed Return you will be made acquainted with the Strength of the Garrison, unless a Supply of Cloathing soon Arrives, I shall not have fifty men fit for duty in a short time, which are by no means Adequate for what work Remains undone, and for what Improvements I cou'd wish to make. You mentioned Sending the Remainder of my Reg^t^ here, I wish the[y] coud be Spared, as I might then be able to Bring them into some order, you wou'd be Surprised to see what a Change for the Better has been wrought

in the 13th, if we had But Cloathing we shou'd be able to Effect any thing. Shou'd the Different Nations of Indians Come in and be inclined for peace, I shall be much oblidged to the General for permission to goe to Fort [Ms. torn] for a few days, at the same [time] I wou'd not wish to Ask it, if there is the least Appearance of Danger.

As soon as Mr Sample Returns, shall send you an Express, shou'd any thing of Importance come to hand by him if not Shall send one on the Return of the Express who went to Fort Mcintosh.

I am, wishing you a happy New Year, Dear General, your most obedient Humble Servt JNo Gibson

Please to order the artificers of my Regt to this post, as the men of Col Broadhead's wish to join their Regiment.

[Ms. torn] Compliments [Ms. torn] Mcintosh, Chambray and the Gentlemen of [Ms. torn]

To Brigadier General Mac Intosh

INDIANS LOYAL TO BRITISH

[Indian speeches at Detroit. 49J16. Translated from the French.]

Detroit, Jan. 2, 1779

Speech of a Huron just arrived from Sandoské to Capne Lernoult, Commandant[1] &c. &c. By a collar of Fourteen rows of black wampum of which two are White.

My Father:

this collar comes from the Chickasaw[2] who addressed it to the Delawares [with this message] "Our grandfathers, besides the pleasure of seeing you in our Villages we have that of telling you what we have done in our cantons; we Knew that all the nations in your locality had united to form but one; we have done by a General alliance The same thing, that is why all the Warriors of our five different charaquis nations (who make a great number) are ready to depart for the mouth of The Oyo to Join a Corps of British troops who are to ascend *The Missisipi* with whom we

[1] For Capt. Richard B. Lernoult, commandant at Detroit during Governor Hamilton's absence, see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 128, note 25.

[2] From the context it would appear that this was a Cherokee, not a Chickasaw message. Both these southern tribes were at this period under the influence of British Indian agents.

expect to drive all the Virginians Along The oyo As far as fort Pitt.[1]

"We do not fear to inform you of our project, although we Know that your Connection (as well as that of certain Chaouanons)[2] with The enemy, will not Leave Him in ignorance of anything; but what we ask of you is to inform the nations of the ouabache[3] of our project, so that they may not take offense at our march."

Continuation of the Hurons Speech.

These Strings of white porcelain come from the Virginians, they are addressed to the Hurons, Delawares, and Chaouenons.[4]

My Brothers: we remember while on our route that it is only four years ago since we were united and Worked in Harmony to maintain this union;[5] this is why we do nothing hastily and invite you to come and renew our alliance, we shall wait for you Fifteen Days more at *Touscarawin*[6] where we are Staying.

Rotondy[7] replied to the Delaware deputies of the virginians that he would not go to the rendezvous, that he advised them to turn aside from their route, otherwise he would oppose their passage with all his might and with all his Warriors.

My father: this piece of tobacco is from Chief Sonontouan de Sonioto[8] to Rotondy.

My brother: all my Warriors Are ready to depart; we await only your order; all that Surprises me is The Slowness of the Chaouenons; they appear to be stopped, that is why I have sent to them to Lift every obstacle from Their departure, that they may Join us promptly against The Virginians

Rotondy to Cap[20] Lernoult by a piece of Tobacco.

My father and my friend: If I were better furnished with munitions of War, we would have already attacked The enemy, but the little we have is not Sufficient for such an enterprise,

[1] These tribesmen were to join Governor Hamilton's forces in driving Col. George Rogers Clark from the Illinois.

[2] This is the French name for the Shawnee Indians for whom see previous volumes of this series, *passim*.

[3] The Indians of the Wabash River were the Miami, Piankashaw, Mascouten, Kickapoo, Ouiatanon, and a few Delawares.

[4] This was the message sent from Fort Laurens by General McIntosh.

[5] Referring to the treaty made at the close of Dunmore's War.

[6] Fort Laurens, on the river Tuscarawas.

[7] Orontony was the family name or title of one of the best-known lines of chiefs in the Huron tribe. The title signified "War pole."

[8] A Seneca chief, whose village was on the Scioto River.

therefore I beg you to send us some by The first favorable opportunity.

DELAWARES INVITED TO VISIT CONGRESS

[Col. George Morgan to the Delawares. Morgan Letter Book III. Transcript.]

FORT PITT January 5th. 1779.

Taimenend To the wise Men of the Delaware Nation and the Shawnese at Coochocking—

Friends & Allies to the United States of America.

BROTHERS: Although it has been a long time since you heard from me or since I have heard from you, I have not been idle in the good work you & I have been so long carrying on. I am yet strong in that good work, nor will I desert it.

Brothers: I intended to have met you last Summer at this place, and to have accompanied you to your Towns, if you had thought proper, but I could not leave our great Council Fire at Philadelphia, where I had much business; & where you may be assured I often mention'd the good works of our Brothers the Delawares, which made glad the hearts of all our People.

Brothers: I am well pleased to send you the News of my arrival here; & to assure you, as I do with the utmost truth and sincerity, that the United States are strong in their friendship for our Brothers the Delawares. It is for this purpose, & to set your hearts at rest that I send the Bearer, our Brother Po,pe,-may,toohan, to convince you of the truth of what I say—I desire you will be carefull of him & let no harm arrive to him. Attend to all he shall say, for I have desired him to tell you the truth of all things.

Brothers: Our hard trials are now near at an end—Our great Friend the King of France & we have tied the hands and the feet of the King of England & laid him on his back—he bites the ground & kicks & scolds like a drunken Madman, but it is our business to keep him tied, to prevent his doing more mischief—he has run about drunk & mad four years—I allow he will be quite sober'd next Summer & be very sick & sorry when he comes to his senses.

Brothers: this is the real truth of the matter & I desire you will make it known to all Nations, for it is not yet too late for

them to join your & our Alliance, if they will be strong in the good work—If they will, I will meet you & them at any proper place you please to appoint & at any time.

Brothers: At a proper time I shall condole with you & the Relations of your late wise Chief my beloved Brother Cap[t] White Eyes —If you have not already elected a wise Counseller to act in his place I now desire that you will do it—I hope you will be unanimous in this great work & elect one who will devote his time to promote the Peace, Happiness, & prosperity of your Nation in particular and the United States of America in general—And I desire you will notify me in form of his Election. I doubt not but you will choose a wise & a good Man such as my Brothers Captain Pipe & Captain John Killbuck are, & such as Captain White Eyes was. I pray that God may direct you in this good work.

Brothers: I propose that you should nominate two, three, four or more of your sober wise Men to go with me to Philadelphia as early as you please—not only that they & you may be fully inform'd by that means of all matters, but that you may speak your minds at our great Council fire & agree what goods shall be sent out to your Towns & that we may fix the prices so that no complaint or loss may arise on either side—These wise men may come if you think proper with our Brother Po,pe,may,toohan who I recommend to you to choose as your Interpreter. And if you can prevail on one or two or more Chiefs of the Wiandots, Ottawas & Chipwas (I mean one or two or more of each Nation) to come along in order that they may join in your & our Alliance, I pledge myself to you that I will conduct them safe to Philadelphia & back to their own Countries. Be strong Brothers & think well of this, for I am determined you shall have Trade.

Brothers: I now send by Po,pe,may,toohan a few Articles for the Children of my deceas'd Brother Cap[t] White Eyes who I desire may be sent to me that I may educate them in my own Family suitable to the friendship which subsisted between us. I inclose a list of the Articles which I now send for the Children. I shall hereafter take care of my sister in Law.

Brothers: You will see by the Paper which encloses this that you had a very wicked false Interpreter to speak for you at the Treaty here last Summer, I therefore desire that you will do yourselves & me the Justice to protest against this false Interpretation with a spirit becoming the wise Delaware Nation—Speak freely & let me see your Hearts.

TAIMENEND

I have sent to our Brother M[r] Zeisberger a Packet of Letters & an Almanack which I desire his acceptance of, also all the late News Papers.

MORGAN AT FORT PITT

[Col. George Morgan to Col. John Gibson. Morgan Letter Book III. Transcript.]

FORT PITT January 5th. 1779.

To Colonel John Gibson,

DEAR SIR: Since writing to you with D. Sullivan's Accounts, I have concluded to send him Express to Coochocking on business of great Importance & have directed him to call at your Post going & coming—If he should stand in need of Provisions or other assistance, I beg the favour of you to afford it to him. I have acquainted the General of this opportunity, but do not know whether he intends to write to you or not—Sullivan shall call on him again—I have the pleasure to tell you all your Friends were well at Lancaster & Carlisle as I pass'd through & am &c

[GEORGE MORGAN]

P: S: I have been offerr'd at the rate of 20/p Share for one thousand Shares in the Indiana Grant,[1] notwithstanding the Assembly of Virginia in their present Sessions have resolved that all Purchases from Indians, not made by Public Authority, shall be void—I refused the offer—If you think it a good one, I think I can get you a Purchaser for your 1692 Shares at the above rate—perhaps a little higher if you impower me by Letter to do it—The money to be paid on demand or Continental Treasury Notes bearing 6 p C[t] Interest—My Commission I would leave to yourself.

[1] The Indiana Company grew out of the grant made at the treaty of Fort Stanwix (1768) to the traders who had lost heavily in Pontiac's Conspiracy. Gibson was one of the grantees, and George Morgan and his Philadelphia partners were promoting the company.

[Col. George Morgan to Gen. Lachlan McIntosh. Morgan Letter Book III. Transcript.]

FORT PITT Jan^{ry} 9, 1779

To Genl Lauchlin McIntosh commanding in the Western Department

SIR: Immediately on my Arrival here the 2d Inst I waited on you & express'd a desire to make you acquainted with the state of the Purchasing Commissaries Department whenever you should have leizure to attend to it As both your time & mine since then has been much engaged by the Court Martial, I thought it most proper to give you the necessary Information in Writing which I did the 7th Inst to which I have now to add that none of my Purchasers have any other Provisions on hand to be deliver'd over to the Issuing Commissaries. And that the most speedy & explicit Orders are necessary to prevent the worst of consequences.

I am with great Respect &c.

[GEORGE MORGAN]

INTELLIGENCE FROM McINTOSH

[Richard Peters to Gen. George Washington. Washington Papers. A. L. S.]

WAR OFFICE Sunday Morning 10th Jany. 1779

SIR:

At the Desire of Mr Duane I send your Excellency sundry Papers relative to the Western Expedition under Genl McIntosh. Should it be in our Power to give any further Information it will be immediately communicated on Request. No authentic Intelligence has been received from Genl McIntosh since his March from Beaver Creek but we hear after leaving a Garrison at that Post where he has built a strong Fortification he has proceeded to Cohocking or Tuscarawas where he is also erecting a Fort & means to take up his Quarters there during the Winter. The last Dispatches we sent to him were by John Dodge who was appointed Interpreter to the Department & was reccommended to Genl McIntosh to be employed in such Way as he thought most adviseable. The Conduct of this Expedition has been chiefly left to the Gen^{ls} Discretion except in some Instances where the Board have interfered. Particularly in forbiding the Execution of a

Plan the Genl had formed of establishing a chain of small Posts which in our Opinion would have been tedious expensive & ruinous. We also signified to him that we thought he should take Post if possible for the Winter on some of the Waters leading into Lake Erie as his Men might be employed in building Batteaus during the Winter. But whether our Letter will arrive so as to be of any Use we know not. Cohocking or Tuscarawas is an inland Place & serves to protect our Friends of the Deleware Nation.

I have the Honour to be with the greatest Respect Your very obed Servt

RICHARD PETERS In Behalf of the Board

No General Return of the Troops has been transmitted—It is supposed the whole of Genl M°Intosh's Force does not exceed (if so many) twelve hundred, about half whereof are regular Troops

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[Extract of a letter from Gen. Lachlan McIntosh to Board of War.[1] 15S31–34. Summary and transcript.]

FORT PITT 11th Jan. 1779

[General McIntosh writes] That on his return from Tuscarawas, he discharged all the militia, which the want of provisions obliged him to do precipitately. That he had stationed the Continental troops for the winter, in the following manner. "Col. Gibson with 150 men of his own regiment at Fort Laurens near Tuscarawas; Col. Brodhead with his whole regiment at Fort Pitt [McIntosh]; near Big Beaver upon the Indian side of the Ohio, and these two stations only, if well supported, I flatter myself will secure the peace of this Department hereafter, and with half the supplies formerly brought over here, and facilitate our future operations. But on account of the scarcity of our provisions, I keep Capt. Moorehead's company still at Fort Hand, upon Kiskaminetas; Capt[s] Heth's, Ferrols[2] and Rust's[3] Independent

[1] This letter was received and read in Congress, Jan. 26, 1779. See *Jour. of Cont. Cong.*, XIII, 115.

[2] Capt. Thomas Ferroll emigrated from Ireland not long before the Revolution. He raised a company around Pittsburgh, and ranged between that place and Wheeling. He was stationed at the latter place for a time. Draper Mss., 7NN14.

[3] John Rust had been ensign in the Tenth Virginia Regiment, became second lieutenant in 1777, and was discharged from service in January, 1778. He then recruited an independent company for the western service.

companies at this place; small parties of the 13th Regt at Rairdon's Bottom, Holliday's Cove, and Ft Henry at Wheeling, all upon the South side of the Ohio below Beaver;[1] and the remains of a company late O'Hara's[2] with 15 men more of the 13th Regt Va, at Fort Randolph, for the conveniency of getting small supplies in the country. These are all the posts now in this Department, and not a single militia man under pay in either of them."

Then says the inhabitants seem confident of being safe; grain, meat and every other article exceedingly scarce and dear; that most of the horses brought over by Capt. Lockhart from hard service have died; salt arrived late, as many of the cattle brought over by Capt. Lockhart "as were eatable were slaughtered and salted, and may serve us till May, but will be bad provision, and he is now disposing of five or six hundred head that remain, and can hardly rise alone, in the best manner he can throughout the country," before winter and want of food cause their utter starvation. "And pork, we have none yet, and I am told there is very little, if any, to be had this year to help down our poor beef." Speaks of Lt. Col. Cambray as accompanying the expedition into the Indian country having command of the artillery, and refers to him for any particular information.

"You have a copy of Col. Gibson's last letter to me, with a message he sent from the Indians to me, which shews their present disposition; but without Congress can fall upon some means to supply them with clothing, it is in vain for us to expect a continuance of their friendship; quires of our money, or any other money, is not equal in value to a blanket this weather to one of them; and while our enemies only can supply them with these absolutely necessary articles of life, we cannot without force expect even to keep them to a neutrality, nor do I see the use of an agent without.

"I mentioned in my former letter to you, that all the militia who went out with me were from Virginia, and none from Pennsylvania; but when I was at Tuscarawas, I ordered 150 men from Westmoreland County to march as secretly as possible to the Forks of Alleghany River, where some Mingoes and Muncies were settled,[3] who have done much mischief, and endeavor to

[1] For these localities see *Frontier Defense*, 44, note 88, and 45, note 89.

[2] The muster roll of this company is given in part, *ibid.*, 302. For Capt. James O'Hara see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 253, note 1.

[3] Brodhead's expedition in the summer of 1779 destroyed a Munsee-Mingo village about twenty miles up French Creek from its junction with the Alle-

cut them off: I thought the time favorable, as it was probable the attention of their warriors was fixed upon our army. But the party, agreeably to the privilege given by the laws of that State, chose a Col. James Smith[1] to command them, in preference to the Lieutenant of their County; and after much waste and destruction of provision and public stores, went within ten miles of the Indian towns, and returned again without seeing the face of one of them. I should be glad to know in what manner I am to bring this gentleman, whom I never saw, to account, as he is not now under Continental pay or in service."

[Reminiscences of James Powers. 3S108.]

Late in the fall of 1780 [1778], an expedition was raised to reduce the Indian town of Le Bœuf.[2] 350 [150] men were raised, under Colos. Arch[d] Loughrey and "black-boy Jimmy Smith" (afterwards of Ky.) My informant James Powers,[3] and Thomas Girty[4] were pilots. Rendezvoused at Pittsburgh, and went by

gheny. This was probably the village aimed at by the Westmoreland expedition.

[1] For this officer see *Frontier Defense*, 70, note 33. His description of this expedition is found in his *Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Col. James Smith* * * * (Cincinnati, 1870), 135–38. His court-martial is in *Pa. Archives*, 2nd ser., III, 328. He was acquitted of the charges made against him.

[2] French Creek during the French régime was called Le Bœuf River.

[3] James Powers was born in 1756 in Prince William County, Va. When very young he removed to the forks of the Potomac above Old Town. There in 1776 he enlisted in the Continental army, serving two years. In 1778 he removed to Westmoreland County. The expedition he here describes was his last military service. In 1781, in the capacity of hunter, he accompanied a trading party to New Orleans. In 1846 Powers was living ten miles above Pittsburgh on the canal; there Dr. Draper visited him and secured his reminiscences.

[4] Thomas, the eldest of the Girty brothers, was born in 1739. He was captured in 1756 in the Juniata Valley and taken to Kittanning, where in September of the same year he was retaken by Gen. John Armstrong's expedition. Soon afterwards he became an employee of an Indian trader, and had headquarters at Pittsburgh before 1768, acting as a pack-horse driver. He lived at Pittsburgh throughout the Revolution, and although suspected of Loyalism because of his brothers' activities, proved faithful to the American cause. At the close of the Revolution he visited Simon Girty at Detroit. During the Indian wars he acted as scout and spy for the army. About 1792 he settled four or five miles north of Pittsburgh, on a stream known from his name as Girty's Run, where he died Nov. 3, 1820.

land. When the men reached Sugar Creek[1] of French Creek, their provisions gave out; and the spies reported that the town in advance, to which they were destined, had been deserted. It was determined to return home—some 70 of the men were sent out as hunters, and soon brought in as many deer—and lived on wild meat till their return home. The weather became very cold and freezing and the men suffered greatly. This Le Bœuf expedition accomplished nothing, unless to drive the Indians away to a greater distance from the frontiers.

McINTOSH UNPOPULAR

[Col. Daniel Brodhead to Gen. George Washington. Washington Papers. A. L. S.]

FORT M^{c}INTOSH Jany 16th 1779.

DEAR GENERAL:

I have long doubted the propriety of writing you an Account of what I sincerely wish you to know relative to the circumstances of the Army here And nothing but the hopes I entertain of your pardoning me when I Err not with an Evil intention could induce me to attempt it. For upon my Honor I know no Circumstance would give me more pain than incurring your displeasure.

Nothing but a love for my Country brought me into the Service and the same principle makes me ever anxious for its good.

I trust I shall utter nothing that has the least appearance of detraction & will not even mention particulars But beg leave only to inform your Excellency that General McIntosh is unfortunate enough to be almost universally Hated by every man in this department both Civil & Military Therefore whatever his Capacity may be for conducting another Campaign I fear he will not have it in his Power to do any thing Salutary—I wish my fears may prove Groundless but I have no reason to think them so.

There is not an Officer who does not appear to be exceedingly disgusted, and I am much deceived if they serve under his immediate Command another Campaign. I am ever oblidged to your Excellency for offering me another Reg^{t} last Spring & I am sorry I did not accept it.

[1] An eastern affluent of French Creek in Venango County, Pa.

With every Mark of Gratitude & Sincere Regard I have the Honor to be your Excellencies most Obed^{t} Hble Servt

DANIEL BRODHEAD Col^{o} 8th Reg^{t}

HIS EXCELL^{Y} GEN^{L} WASHINGTON

FORT LAURENS TO BE ATTACKED

[David Zeisberger to Col. George Morgan. Morgan Letter Book III. Transcript.]

LICHTENAU[1] January 20th. 1779.

To Col^{o} George Morgan Agent for the United States

DEAR SIR: I was much rejoiced to hear from you and of your arrival again at Fort Pitt. I am much obliged to you for the Packet of Letters, News Papers & the Almanack you sent me.

Your Speech sent by Mr Sullivan the Express, was explained to the Council at Coochocking, upon which you now receive an Answer, which I hope will be to your satisfaction. I was sorry last Fall when I heard you had not attended the Treaty at Pittsburgh with the Delaware Chiefs for I believe matters would have been otherwise as they afterwards appeared. That the War Belt was deliver'd to them caused much speculation among the Delawares, for you will remember that in all the Speeches to them before it had been told them to sit still & be quiet, that the United States did not desire them to help them to fight against the English, & this I always observed that they approved of very much, they used this as an Argument to convince the Nations of the Truth & sincerity of the United States, but now a rumor was spread that the Delawares would be obliged to fight against those Nations which with [*sic*] they were connected. I flattered myself that this was not the meaning & I really believe it was not the intention, yet it caused much disturbance.

I wrote to John Montour an Invitation of Capt John Killbuck to come to Coochocking & likewise part of Mr Dodge's Letter he wrote to Col^{o} Gibson[2] who sent it to me for that purpose along

[1] Lichtenau was a Moravian mission village situated on the eastern bank of the Muskingum, two and a half miles below Coshocton. This mission village was built in April, 1776, at the request of Newcomer, then head chief of the Delawares. In 1778 all the mission congregations were assembled at this place under the care of Zeisberger. The site was abandoned Mar. 30, 1780.

[2] For these letters, see *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, I, 379–80.

with it, & assured him if he should come that he had nothing to fear, that he should be used well & treated kindly.

Since the Army came to Tuscarawas it seemed very calm among the Nations & all we heard was, that they were counselling, but now we had Intelligence which is not favourable at all if true, viz[t] That the Warriors of the Nations were gathering together at Sandusky & Detroit, that the full Moon after this next they would in a large body attack Fort Laurens & cut off all communication.

If this should happen we would be in a situation worse than last Fall when circumstances was bad indeed & if proper measures are not taken it may yet happen that the communication with the Delawares & Fort Laurens & Pittsburgh might be cut off and the Delawares who at present are very few in number would be forced to join the Enemies.

We also hear that a party of 7 and another of 18 Warriors (among the latter is Simon Girty) are gone to Fort Laurens—with this News which we got yesterday, Expresses are sent off this Morning to Col[o] Gibson to give him warning[1]

I am Dear Sir Your most obed[t] & hble serv[t]

D. ZEISBERGER

[Enclosure in above.]

Cap[t] John Killbuck's Message to Col[o] Morgan

COOCHOCKING January 20th 1779.

BROTHER TAIMENEND:

I am very glad to hear from you again, I was very sorry & much concern'd that I heard nothing from you such a long time, but now my Heart rejoiceth again to hear you.

Brother: I was very glad to see our Brother Papemetoghwe, you may depend upon it I shall take as good care of him as of myself to deliver him safe back again to you.

Brother: I am very glad to hear that you have been busy all this time in the good work for us both at the great Council fire at Philadelphia and hast also remember'd me by the great Counsellors there. I assure you that I also have been busy in the good

[1] This express to Colonel Gibson was captured, and the letters taken to Detroit. They have been published in *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, I, 381–82. See also John Heckewelder, *Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians* (Philadelphia, 1820), 204–6; and George Henry Loskiel, *History of the United Brethren* (London, 1794), III, 137.

work & shall continue therein—I inform you that according to your desire I have already sent off my Messengers to inform the Nations of what you desired me to do. I have sent two of my Counsellors with a Belt and some Strings of Wampum for that purpose—they are to be back again in 12 days & then I will let you know at what time we will meet you at Fort Pitt.

Brother: I am very glad you have not forgot my wise man & Counsellor Col° White Eyes, we will remember him when we meet together.

You have desired me to think of a good & wise Man to be chosen in his place—My heart hath been very sorry & troubled ever since I heard of his death, but as you put me in mind now I will consider about that matter & when we meet together you shall hear my mind—then we will also consult with one another about sending some of my Counsellors with you to the great Council fire at Philadelphia—in the mean time I will consider about it & I promise you it shall be done, but at the present many of my Counsellors are not at home.

Brother: I and my Counsellors are all of one mind to choose our Brother Popemetoughwe for our future Interpreter I am very glad to find him a sober honest Man—I therefore wish you would keep him always at home to serve us both whenever we have any thing to say to one another.

Brother Taimenend: Since the Treaty last Fall at Fort Pitt I have observed that some matters have been spoken of which I & the Commissioners should have agreed to, but which are quite strange to me & to which I never agreed & though I never could find out right how matters was I yet thought a time would come when the truth would be known—I have now looked over the Articles of the Treaty again & find that they are wrote down false, & as I did not understand the Interpreter what he spoke I could not contradict his Interpretation, but now I will speak the truth plain & tell you what I spoke.

The following are the complaints made by the Delaware Council of Coochocking which they lay before Colonel George Morgan (their much beloved Brother and faithfull Agent, granted to them by the great Council of the United States) in order that an enquiry be made in the same.

COOCHOCKING January 20th 1779.

Brother Taimenend: In Council at the Treaty held at Fort Pitt with Thomas and Andrew Lewis Esq^rs^ Commissioners of Congress the 16th. Septem^r^ 1778 I spoke the following words.

Brothers: You desired us in a Speech which you made to us yesterday, that if we should think of any thing which might be for the advantage of both, that we would mention it.

We now request of you therefore to appoint Col^o^ John Gibson for the protection of our Nation, to be posted at one of our Towns, until the whole Army had marched past us, that all fear & danger might be prevented on our side. Our wise Brethren in Congress may also remember that when we were last in Philadelphia we desired them to send Schoolmasters to our Towns to instruct our Children as we think it will be for our mutual interest, we request it may be complied with.

Brother Taimenend: I remember very well that when I was at the Treaty at Fort Pitt, I throwed down every thing that was bad, & which came from our Enemies the English to my Brothers the Americans; my heart became quite easy, & I was determined to continue in that what I was so often told to do by you, which was to sit quite still & let you & the English make out the matter together; but was very much surprized when I found after my return from the Treaty, that I was looked upon as a Warrior,[1] & which was the cause of so much confusion among my People.

The Tomhawk was handed to me at Fort Pitt but not in a Warlike manner, we all standing & at no Council Fire, neither did I understand the meaning of it. I neither desired any Implements of War, all what I agreed to was to pilot the Army 'till beyond our bounds, & my great Capt White Eyes with several others to go before the Army & convey them to the Enemy in order to be of use to both Parties, in case they should desire to speak or treat with one another.

Brother Taimenend: I likewise remember by examining the last Treaty as if it had been desired by me that Col^o^ John Gibson should be appointed Agent, & in the room of my much beloved Brother Taimenend.

This makes me very sorry & uneasy as my wish always has been and is now that I never may be robbed of him, as I am very well convinced that he (Brother Taimenend) is the wisest, faithfullest and best Man I ever had any thing to do with; he always has dealt honestly & fair with me, which occasions the

[1] Note on original Mss., "See Article the 5th. of the Confederation."

great regard I have for him. I also own that by the assistance of him, & his frequent good Messages, I have been kept firm & steady in that which is good. He is the cause of our friendship with the States, which in working & helping to perform, he has always been very diligent.

THE INTERCEPTED LETTERS

[Summary of letter of Col. John Gibson, Fort Laurens, Jan. 22, 1779, to Gen. Lachlan McIntosh. Printed in *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, II, 383–84.]

Has received the general's letter of Jan. 8 by Captain Clark,[1] who brought clothing and whisky. Sends letter from Zeisberger warning him of Girty's proposed strategy, hopes to be ready for him if he comes. If Indians besiege the fort, the defenders will be distressed for supplies. Begs protection for the missionaries and friendly Delawares. Arrangements for underofficers.

[Summary of letter of Col. John Gibson, undated, to Maj. Richard Taylor.[2] Printed in *ibid.*, 387.]

Captain Clark and party arrived yesterday. Intentions of savages, if true, are bad. Need of more men and officers; six months' pay. Cloth or dressed deerskins for use of the regiment.

[1] Capt. John Clark was a native of Lancaster County, Pa. He removed at an early age to Westmoreland and in 1775, entered the Continental army as first lieutenant in the Pennsylvania Rifles. He served for a time as aid-de-camp to General Greene, and after having been captain of the Thirteenth Pennsylvania was transferred July 1, 1778, to the Eighth Regiment. He served throughout the war, and at its close was brevetted major. In 1791 he reëntered the army, was wounded at St. Clair's defeat, served as colonel under General Wayne, and died at Freeport, Armstrong County, Pa., in 1819, when about seventy years of age.

[2] Major Richard Taylor was a native of Orange County, Va., who enlisted in the first Continental regiment raised in 1775. His first commission was that of lieutenant, he became a captain in 1776, and major of the Thirteenth Virginia, Feb. 4, 1778. He participated in the battles of Brandywine and Monmouth, and marched west with the army in the summer of 1778. In 1779, he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the Second Virginia, retiring in 1781. In early life (1769–70) Richard had accompanied his brother Hancock on an exploring

[Summary of letter of Col. John Gibson, Fort Laurens, Jan. 22, 1779, to Col. George Morgan. Printed in *ibid.*, 386.]

News received from Zeisberger. Sullivan at Indian towns. Urges him to try to save the poor Moravians and friends at Coshocton. Stolen horses and friendly Indians.

[Summary of letter of Col. John Gibson, Fort Laurens, Jan. 22, 1779, to Col. Daniel Brodhead, endorsed for Colonel Bolton,[1] commandant of the post on the lakes. Printed in *ibid.*, 385.]

News from Coshocton and the Moravians. Sends two sawyers and the tanner of Brodhead's regiment by Captain Clark, who has only stayed over night. Urges that help be sent to the missionaries and people of Coshocton.

STRICTURES ON McINTOSH

[John Dodge to Congress. Washington Papers. Contemporary transcript.]

PITSBURG Jan. 25th 1779.

HONORABLE CONGRESS:

As I have been one of the greatest Sufferers that is now in the United States of America both in person and property I have suffered every thing but Death Rob'd plunder'd of every farthing that I was master of but look upon it as an honor that I have suffered in so just a Cause as we are now engaged in and very happy that I have made my Escape from the Enemy after being Prisoner two years and nine Months I think it my Duty as I am

trip down the Ohio and the Mississippi. Choosing Kentucky as the most desirable settlement, in 1785 he removed his family to the vicinity of Louisville, where thereafter he made his home. He was a member of several Kentucky conventions, of the state legislature, a local judge, and a United States collector. He died about 1826. These facts are gleaned from a letter written by his son Zachary, found in Draper Mss., 5C37.

[1] For Col. Mason Bolton see *Frontier Defense*, 285, note 46. Captain Lernoult wrote from Detroit, Mar. 26, 1779, to Colonel Bolton, "I had just finished copies of the several letters taken by the Indians near Fort Lawrence." Draper Mss., 58J9, printed in *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 307.

now in the Service of the United States, to inform your Honors of the proceedings and Carryings on in this Department where I am. It both grieves & Chagrins me to the heart, to see Matters so ill conducted as they are in this Department—it is very natural for every one that has the Interest of his Country at heart to enquire into the Reason of our Grievances. is not one, the Farmers being drove off their Plantations on our Frontiers by the Savages? Could they remained on their plantations they could have been very serviceable in supplying our Main Army in Provisions, in stead of that the poor misfortunate people are obliged to retreat into the thick settled Country, and I may say live almost upon the Charity of the Country, which of Consequence must distress the whole Country for Provisions. We will enquire why those Savages are our Enemies, because they are Bribed by the British to take up the Hatchet against us.—where is their Rendevouz? Detroit, a place stockaded in with Cedar Pickets, and Eighty Soldiers to guard it, but it is strong enough to keep a large Quantity of Goods in, so the British can, & do, give near a Million p^{r} Annum to bribe the Savages to fall upon our Frontiers & distress our whole Country, but we will suppose that place to be easily taken which it really is if Matters were conducted as they ought to be. But we will say that the public has been at Great Expence for two Years past, and there is nothing done. I may say nothing, there is a Fort built at Bever Creeck, and and one at Tuskerowayes, which if they are not reinforced with Men & Provisions very speedily we have no reason to think but they will fall into the Hands of the Enemy in the Spring, now had one of these Forts been built at Preskeele or Kiohoga,[1] any where on the Lake side the Men might have been employed this Winter in building of Boats or Gundeloes so that in the Spring we could commanded the Lakes, which if we dont we can't keep Detroit if we take it, or if the winter had [been] sevier we could have gone on the Ice and taken Detroit, and Vessells too, with half the Men that it would have taken at any other Season of the year, for the Vessells would be all froze up, but instead of that they [the forts] are built in an Indian Country where that all supplies may be very easily cut off, and give the Savages Suspicion that we are agoing to conquer them, and not our Enemies the English, and very good right they have, after there has been such threats thrown out to

[1] Presqu'isle (Preskeele) was the site of the present city of Erie, Pa. Cleveland now stands at the mouth of the Cuyahoga (Kiohaga) River.

them as there has, we haven't the least Reason but to expect them all against us. Before Gen[l] M[c]Intosh marched from Bever Creek the Governor of Detroit put up a few of the lower sort of Savages by bribing them to send word to the General that they would meet him at Shugar Creeck,[1] and give him battle, and at the same time there was more than four to one sent him word that they would not interfere or molest him on his March as he had told them that he would go to Detroit. The General marcht to the place but there was not one that appeared against him. He then gave out word that all those Savages that did not come in within twelve Days time & join him he would look upon them as Enemies & use them as such, and he would destroy their whole Country—now it was an Impossibility for the Nations, that sent him Word that they would not molest him, to get word in that short space of time which the General thought proper [to] so set, much more come in. Now What can we expect but to have them all against us if there is not some speedy remedy? I cant say what opinion your honors may have of the Savages, but I can assure you that they are very Numerous, their Numbers are not known, and that there has not one out of a hundred taken up the Hatchet against us yet, but we cannot but expect they will if there is not proper steps taken, & that speedily. We will suppose that the proper Steps are for us to march thro' their Country, & take Detroit, which is easily done if matters were conducted as they ought to be, and by having that in our possession, & the Lakes, it will be in our power to force all those near Nations to come upon our Terms, and that will induce all the far Ones to be upon alliance with us, and then we shall have all the Trade of that extensive Country quite from the North West Hutsons Bay, Lake Superiour, the head of the Mississippi which will make our Country flourish. But we will say the public has been at great Expence for two years past and we are no nearer now than we was when we first set out, but what is the Reason? it is because there was people sent that knew nothing of the Matter. The General told me that he was brought up by the Sea Shore, and that he knew nothing about Pack Horseing in this Wooden [wooded] Country. I don't take it upon me to dictate or Censure no one, but I think that ought to be enquired into before there was thousands spent, but now it is too late to recall. The Horses

[1] Sugar Creek is an affluent of Tuscarawas River, about two miles west of the site of Fort Laurens.

& Bullocks are dead, the provision is eat, the Men must have their Pay it is sunk, lost gone, & here we are still going on in the same way; The General has likewise got the Ill Will of all his Officers, the Militia in protickaler which I am very sorry for as they are the only people that We have to depend upon to do any thing in this Department. Now if there was not any one that knew how matters should have been conducted it would have been a material Difference, but there is a Gentleman of an unblemished Character who has signalized himself & by leaving every thing that was near & dear to him & come into this Quarter of the Country, Prepare proper Talks for the Savages, and as he was greatly respected [by] all those who knew him it had its intended Effect, and I can assure your Honors that it has been the saving of hundreds of Lives and I can further assure you by various Circumstances and credible Inteligence that if he had not come & did what he did, there would not have remained one Family this side Alegany Mountains. He is still striving to keep them from falling upon us, but as there is others here striving, to eat them up it will be very difficult Matter for him to do it, he has sent for the Chiefs of the Nations to come in and that there is still Mercy for them if they will know their Duty, and as his Influence is great with all those Nations who know him, I am in hopes it will have its intended Effect, but I should not be disappointed if they do not after receiving such threats as they have. He has likewise at his own private expence hired Men & sent them thro' the whole Country about Detroit & this side, & found out the Situation of it, and as I was prisoner with the British I have often heard them make remarks that if he did not come against, that we had not a Man in our parts that knew the Situation of the Country and had the Influence with the Natives as he had. But what knowledge he may have concerning those Matters he has not never had Offer of ordering of them, but instead of that he has been put under arrest by the false reports of a poor Ignorant set of People which to the eternal Shame of our Country after he had saved them from being massacred by the Savages that was his Reward.—Now I beg that your honours will take it into Consideration and order some speedy arrangem[t] before this Quater of the Country is ruined—a house divided against itself cannot stand, and your honors may rely upon it that is the Case here. If I have taken too much Liberty I beg your Honors will

look over it as I would not wish to do more than my Duty—from Your most Obed^{t} & H^{le} Servt JOHN DODGE

P. S. Upon Col^{o} Morgan's arrival here he sent an Express to the Indians for them to come in, and there has two Runners just arrived here with Speeches of great Consequence which I suppose he will acquaint Congress with the earliest opportunity.

[Summary of letter of Col. George Morgan to the Council of Inquiry. Extract published in S. P. Hildreth, *Pioneer History* * * * (Cincinnati, 1848), 135.]

Refers to "the ignorant, absurd and contradictory conduct and orders of General McIntosh, throughout the whole campaign."

RELIEVING PARTY AMBUSCADED

[Gen. Lachlan McIntosh to Col. Archibald Lochry. 1NN32. Transcript.]

FORT PITT, Jan. 29, 1779

SIR:

I am just informed that Capt. Clark of the 8th Pennsylvania Regiment who was sent to command an escort to Fort Laurens as he was returning with a sergeant & 14 men three miles this side of that post, was attacked by Simon Girty & a party of Mingoes, who killed two of our men, wounded four, and took one prisoner.

I am also informed that a large party of the same people are set off to strike the inhabitants about Ligonier & Black Leg Creek[1] and send you this express to inform you of it, that you may acquaint the neighborhood and be upon your guard.

I am, Sir, Your most ob^{t} Servt

LACH^{N} M^{c}INTOSH

[*Addressed:*] On Public Service To Colonel Lochry, Lieutenant of Westmoreland County. By Col^{o} John Campbell.

[1] Blacklegs Creek is a northern affluent of the Conemaugh, in the present county of Indiana, Pa.

[Reminiscences of Henry Jolly. 6NN24.]

Capt Clark * * * had marched 3 or 4 miles (for I have three or four times travelled over the ground soon after) he was fired on by a small party of Indians, very close, I think 20 to 30 paces, this wounded two of his men slightly, Knowing as he did, that his men were not capable of fighting Indeans in their own way, ordered them to reserve their fire, and Charge Bayonets, which put the I[n]dians to flight, and after pursuing a short distance he reCall'd his men off, and returned to the fort, and marched all the men in, that he had marched out.

McINTOSH DEFENDED

[Affidavit of Lieut. William Amberson. Washington Papers. A. D. S.]

PITTSBURGH
Youghiaania County } ss.

William Amberson Lieutenant of the 8th Pennsylvania Regiment personally appeared before me, one of the Justices of the peace for said County and maketh Oath that he Stayed with, and was one of General M°Intoshs Family since he left the Camp at Vally Forge to this day as his Aid De Camp, and with the assistance of the Generals son only, did all his Writing, and other business he required of us in all that time, except such occasional assistance as we could get at times ourselves.

This Deponent saith further that Gen M°Intosh while he stayed at Tuscorawas hat [had] several Councils and meetings with the Coochocking Indians, agreed to purchase all the Provisions and other articles they could spare at Certain fixed prices, and appointed Col° John Gibson and no other person to receive such articles and pay for them, but at the same time heard the General tell several Gentlemen he intended them all for the use of the Army, and what ever their necessitys could Spare.—any of them might have been at the first Cost.—The Deponent further Saith that he never knew General M°Intosh to have any kind of private dealing whatsoever with any Indian (and he thinks any thing of that kind could not escape his notice) except Six Deer Skins and one Racoon Skin the General desired his Son to take

and Pay for to an old Drunken Indian Fellow to get rid of him as he was teesing him Several days before to barter them for Whiskey or Flour which the General never allowed, and were afterwards given away with a Bundle of Skins the Indians made him a Present of among the Officers and Soldiers without asking or receiving a farthing for them. The Deponent further Saith that he is the writer of the preceding Letters, Extracts, and other pieces from Page 1 to this Page 46 in Folio which to the best of his knowledge are True Copys.[1] Wm AMBERSON

Sworn before me this 29th Jany 1779

THO: SMALLMAN

DELAWARES WARN FORT LAURENS

[Capt. John Killbuck to Col. John Gibson. 1H18–21. Contemporary transcript.]

A Speech Delivered By Capt John Killbuck at Cooshocking ye 29th of January 1779 to Colonl Jno Gibson, Command^t^ at Fort Lawrance.

BROTHER:

I now begin to See the work of the Foolish People, they have already Began to do Mischief here in my Town, all what has been done here was Committed by Delawares, tho'e by those who have left us, & are Gone to the Wyondotts. We had spoke to them when they came here first, & forbiddin them to do any mischief, they then Promised us they would not, But they Privately fired on one of your men & wounded him & then Ran off.[2]

Brother: I can assure you I am very sorry for what has happened here by those foolish People, it troubles me Indeed very much. But I have taken Proper steps to prevent any Mischief which might arise from those Nations to the Southward. Six Speeches are ready & will be sent to those nations in two days. Again Four Speeches are Prepared & likewise to be sent off with the first to the Twigtwee's [Miami], & all other nations betwixt them & the Ohioh River, and again I have spoke to the O'Tawas,

[1] These letters and other papers have been printed *ante* under their respective dates. They constituted evidence produced at the court-martial of Col. Archibald Steel, held at Fort Pitt in January, 1779.

[2] See Gibson's letter of Feb. 13, 1779, *post*, 224.

Chippuwe's & Bid them take hold of our Friendship. Three Great Speeches I have sent to these 3 Nations and ordered the Messengers to travel Day & knight till they got there. I have desired the said Nations to be strong and consider what I have told them, & then make haste & come here to me before the End of next Moon. I have done So Because you desired me to do so, you told me lately at Tuskerowa's to speak to those nations, & desire them to take hold of the Chain of Friendship & now my Message is on the Road.

Brother: The Reason why I did not follow those foolish People that did this Mischief here is Because you told me to Speak to the Enemy & back nations & call them in to you, had you not have told me that I should soon have known what to do with such people that Comes here to do Mischieff, I should have followed them & killed them:

Brother: My Messengers with Speeches to the Wyndotts according to your Request have been Gone now already 10 Days & I Expect them back again every day, & as soon as they will be here I will acquaint you of every thing which they may bring brother. Brother, I have her'd that all Nations are gathering to attack't the Fort at Tuskerowas at the full of this Moon. I assure you I shall Be very watchfull & when I hear they have Crossed the Lake, & going towards [you] I then will go Imediately & Speak to them & try to Stop their Proceding any further.

Brother: You may depend I shall take all the care I can of M[r] Samples & his Men, & Promise to deliver him safe unto you again, I send 20 of my Men with them Nobody Shall be abel to hurt them.[1]

I likewise have ordered 3 of My Men to Stay with you In the room of those now there at Tuskerowas they are to Be With you as Guards for 15 Days.

Brothers the Thirteen United States: That Chain of Friendship which we once have taken hold off we never shall Let go again neither shall it ever be Broken.

[1] Heckewelder describes (*Narrative*, 207–8) the attack upon the party of Samuel Sample who had come to Coshocton as a commissary to buy provisions, and the gloom produced in the Delaware council by these unwarranted acts.

COOSHOCKING Jany^{a} 30th 1779

DEAR SIR:

By Quishagegomind Who came last Night from towards the Wyndotts Towns we have the following news which Capt John Killbuck Informes you of, The News as follows Viz. That a Capt. of the English from detroit has came over the lakes with his men & has made up an hundred Pack horses & loaded them with Provisions & a great Number of English & Indians are to be there very Soon from the same Place, that the Wyndotts had Sent out for all other Nations to Be ready to March from that time In 10 Days, but that the Wyondochala[1] People sent word Back again desireing them as the Wether was cold to wait till this Moon was out & then to March Emediately towards the Garrison at Tuskerowas. That Simon Girty had marched against all orders with 17 Men Chiefley Mingoes towards that Garrison Consequentley did the Mischieff That Capt Pipe said he knew of None of the Back Nations that Were Preparing for war & Supposed that the Wyndotts, Mingoes, & Shawanoes, were the only People for Mischieff, that Capt Pipe had charged his men very strictly not to join any Body of Warriors, be they who they would that he also had no dealings or Concern with them & their undertakings & If any of his foolish young men should actually Go to war with the Enemy they were disobedient towards his orders and Might stand their Chance.

The first Part of the Letter is what the Man heared, & does not Know it very particular; when Pageland returns we Shall know more; Capt Killbuck desires you to be on your guard, tho'e he Knows of no Body being out at present. Several Companies went out But were stop't on the road & turned Back again, Simon Girtys Party had devided themselves Before they did the Mischieff but which way the 8 went no Body knows

JOHN KILLBUCK

JN^{o} GIBSON Co^{l} Commd^{r}[2]

[1] The name of this chief takes many forms—Wanduxales, Wyanduxales (on Evans' map of 1755), Windaughalah (in Gist's *Journals*), Wewundochwelund (in Heckewelder's *Indian Nations*). The usual orthography is Wyondochella. He was a Delaware chief who about 1750 had a village on the lower Scioto; by the opening of the Revolution he had removed to the upper waters of the Great Miami in Logan County, Ohio. He was for the most part hostile to the Americans. His son, Buckingehelas, was an eminent chief. See *Frontier Defense*, 118.

[2] The signature is in Col. John Gibson's handwriting, showing that this document was received by him at Fort Laurens. The entire document is found in the Brodhead Papers, obtained from his descendants.

DELAWARES INVITED TO VISIT CONGRESS

[Col. George Morgan to the Delawares. Morgan Letter Book III. Transcript.]

The United States of America by Taimenend—To the wise Council of their Brethren the Delawares at Coochocking

FORT PITT January 30th. 1779.

BRETHREN:

By the return of my Messenger Popemetoghwe & my Brothers Weyhengehelas & Meytawnepaucooghwen, whom you were so good as to send to take care of him, I have received your Message dated the 20th. inst. for which I thank you.

Brothers: Your words do my heart good because I see your heart is the same as when I last look'd you in the face & heard you speak.

Brothers: It shall be my care to keep alive the Council fire at this place & to kindle it up to burn bright & clear when our Counsellors meet around it. From hence it will give your Counsellors a clear light & shew a smooth Road to Philadelphia where our great Council Fire shines with redoubled vigour, so that all Nations, who wish to do it, may enjoy the light thereof.

Brothers: I see that by my absence some strange things have been spoken of last Summer & Fall; When we meet again we will set these matters right: I therefore desire that you may not be uneasy about what is past.

Brothers: I shall sit down & wait for your Counsellors to go with me to Philadelphia—I only desire that your young men may be busy this Winter & Spring in trapping, and next Summer in hunting that they may be enabled to cloath their Women & Children for I am determined to open the Trade between us.

Brothers: Every thing you have spoken to me is good. I desire you to appoint sober, wise Men to go to our great Council Fire—Men who understand the true interest & good of the wise Delaware Nation & I shall be happy to have your good grand Children to join with you in this good work. I wish the great & good spirit may bless our mutual endeavours to promote the welfare of our respective Nations, and you may look upon me the same as though I was born a Delaware.

TAIMENEND

[Col. George Morgan to Rev. David Zeisberger. Morgan Letter Book III. Transcript.]

FORT PITT January 30th. 1779.

To the Revd David Zeisberger,

DEAR SIR: I am greatly obliged to you for your favour of the 20th. inst. When I came to see what pass'd last Fall it gave me great Pain & particularly as matters were so ill conducted.

I hope however we shall be able to set matter[s] right again—this will be my study to do & I shall ever esteem your advise & assistance as the most particular favour to me & as the greatest service to the United States.

I have ever considered your Letters as in the greatest confidence & taken care that none but Congress shall see them—When you have safe opportunities do write to me with freedom & give me your advice

Whatever necessaries you stand in need of, be pleased to write to me & you shall be supplied.

If any News Papers arrive before the departure of the Messengers, you shall receive them with this from yours &c. G M

[Col. George Morgan to Col. Daniel Brodhead. Morgan Letter Book III. Transcript.]

FORT PITT Jany 31st 1779

To Colonel Daniel Broadhead commanding at Fort McIntosh

DEAR SIR: I inclose to you Copies of the last Letter & Message I received from Coochocking, without making any Comments thereon. I only request that you do not allow them to be copied or go out of your hands. I also enclose to you three Papers or Plans relating to an Expedition to Detroit, wch when you have persued, or taken copies of it if you think them worth that trouble, I shall be extremely obliged to you for your Sentiments of the subject, and that you will return them to me under cover.

I only take the Liberty to remark that it is my Opinion as well as my Wish that the Dependance of the Public will be hereafter on you for the Salvation of this unhappy Country, if it be in the Power of Man to save it after the Blunders & Absurdities already committed—In such Case I shall be happy, & expect [exert] my whole Faculties to coopperate with you.

I have proposed to the Delawares to send three or four of their principal men to Philad[a],—If they agree to it I shall conclude that their Disposition to continue peaceable, will be clearly evinced thereby, notwithstanding what we have told to us. There never was a Conference with the Indians so improperly or villainously conducted as the last one at Pittsburgh—I am only surprised it has not had worse Effects.

If I go off, as I think I shall next Week, I shall leave proper Persons to conduct the Chiefs to Philad[a] By them I hope you will write to Your very Ob[t] hum Serv[t] G M

PREPARATION FOR AN ALLEGHENY EXPEDITION

[Summary of letter of Gen. George Washington, Jan. 31, 1779, to Gen. Lachlan McIntosh. Printed in W. C. Ford (ed.), *Writings of George Washington* (New York, 1889–93), VII, 336–41.]

Has determined to carry war into the Indian country. Fort Pitt will be included in operations. Exploration of country ordered, and best kind of craft to be determined upon.

DELAWARE CONDUCTORS

[Col. George Morgan to John Dodge. Morgan Letter Book III. Transcript.]

FORT PITT February 1st 1779

To Captain John Dodge

SIR: The Delaware Nation having been invited to send Delegates to Congress to settle several Matters & things for the mutual Interest of their People & the United States of America; I do hereby desire that you & M[r] Daniel Sullivan will receive the said Delegates at this Place & conduct them to Philad[a] with all convenient Speed: And I do hereby request all Officers, civil & military, & particularly Quarter Masters & Commissaries to be aiding & assisting to you herein.

Your prudent Attention to & Execution of this Duty, will render your Country a particular Service & oblige Your humble Servant

G. M. I. Agent for the United States of America

BRITISH REPORTS

[Gen. Henry Clinton to Gen. Frederick Haldimand. 58J32–33. Transcript.][1]

February 1st 1779

Extracts of intelligence received concerning an intended Expedition of the Rebels to the Westward, &c. (Confidential)

The Indian Expedition against Detroit under the command of General M°Intosh, of Virginia, is at present entirely at an end; 1500 of them marched, in October, from Fort Pitt; stopped at a place called Machigan, about 150 miles from Fort Pitt, where they began to build a temporary Fort; but sickness attending them for want of necessaries, by which means they lost near 300 men; at the same time their difficulty was so great, in procuring provisions, &c, that with advice of Congress, they were ordered to return, and nothing in that Department can be done till next April or May; and they hope no succours will be sent to Detroit by said time—in which case it is probable a second expedition may be attempted, although it is said the Indians to the Westward will not do anything in conjunction with the Americans.

COUNCIL AT DETROIT

[Indian Speeches. 49J24–25. Contemporary transcript.]

Detroit Febʸ 7th 1779.

Speeches brought by Simon Girtie from the Six Nations to Detroit Feby 7th, 1779.[2]

A Speech from the Women of the Six Nations Shawnese Delawars & Wyandots to the Warriours of all the different Nations.

Children:

We wipe the Tears from your Eyes, and ease your Hearts for the loss of so many Young men We conjure you to forget our

[1] This letter was transcribed by Dr. Draper from copies of the Carleton Papers made in London for Prof. Jared Sparks.

[2] This is an endorsement made by the transcriber upon the original document. Girty had just returned from his raid against Fort Laurens. See *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 106, 108.

Misfortune. We gather their Bones togather, and cover them lightly with leaves and a little Earth.

5 Strings

Warriours: We the Old Men & Chiefs, join with the Women, in covering the Bodies of our diceased Friends, with a few Branches.

Seven Strings

Children: We have now eased your Hearts for the loss of our Friends, I now help you to stand firm and unloose the Strings I formerly tied your Feet with. To preserve you from all difficulties, we make your Mockasons of strong Buffaloe Leather, & Your Leggins of Wolf Skin, and we clothe you out in the best War dress. We have put new Strings to your Bows, and straiten'd your Arrors. That when you see your Enemies at a great distance you may be able to shoot thro' them.

Chiefs & head Mens Speech to the Women

Women: We return you thanks, for fitting out our Warriours, Our hearts are the same as yours, and we join with you in prepairing our Young men for war.

Womens Speech to the Otawas Chipawas and Poutawatamies.

Children: We have now fitted out *our* Warriours we next address our selves to you. Your Legs have this long time appear'd tied to us.

We cut them loose, and desire your head Women will assist us in doing of it

15 Strings with a bit of Tobacco

Children: We have now prepair'd you for War. We have swept out your councel house.

Warriours: We take the old men, and place them behind you, that they may the better see your Footsteps.

Chiefs and Old Men's speech to the Warriours

Warriours: The road is open—we have clear'd the War path, and removed every obstacle that may hinder you from seeing your Enemies.

8 Strings

Warriours answer to the Women, and Chiefs

Women & Chiefs: We return you thanks, for cloathing us out for War. We have been impatient for it this long time. We depart now to try whether the dress you have given us is Strong & lasting.

8 Strings

Shawanese and Delawares Speech, to the Six Nations & Hurons.

Brothers: You remember when we settled at Touskouté, upon the Big Plains[1] you there kindled a small Fire for us—the Six nations increased the Fire, telling us to be strong and unanimous and that we should all mutually assist each other. Shortly after the Cherokees came begging our assistance, saying the Miamis, had struck them with the Tomahawk. We then remembred your good advice, and went with them to that nation. The Miamis, told us they were Children and beg'd us to go to the Six Nations. Brothers we addressed ourselves to you. You settled the dispute. We took the Tomahawk out of your hand and laid it close to your side. Brothers we again take up that Tomahawk—It is our own Tomahawk Brothers, we are going to sharpen, and strike against our Common Enemy the *Big Knife*[2]—We are now setting of to make use of it and desire of you to make it known among all the Nations.

Orontondi Speech to Cap[n] Lernoult

Father: I speak to you as a War chief. I remind you of your former Promises. You know by the Speeches you have heard what your Warriours are doing. Father, you formerly told me to keep a look out, and when I saw the Virginians coming to acquaint you of it. You *then* told me you would come to my assistance, and drive them before you like a Flock of sheep. I now tell you Father, they are nearer to me than to you. I once more remind you of your engagement of coming yourself, or sending some of your chiefs to see your Children fight—For Children fight better in the Fathers presence. If you do neither one or the Other, I shall begin to think you are as smooth Tongued as the Virginians

Oronquat Speech to Cap[n] Lernoult

Father: We beg to remind you of your former promises. And to send us all kind of warlike necessaries. The Merchandize you last gave us was not sufficient for all our wants We beg you would send two Traders among us We recommend Phillip Boyle as a person we have been long acquainted with.[3]

[1] Probably the Pickaway Plains where the Shawnee removed about 1758.

[2] On the use of this term see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 77, note 4.

[3] This letter is endorsed by Dr. L. C. Draper: "Sent to Lt. Gov. Hamilton from Detroit to Vincennes." See also *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 108, wherein Lernoult writes to Hamilton: "The Copy of the Speaches I send with a belt from the Southern Nations to be communicated to the Indians on the Wabash." Thus this document is shown to have been one of those on its way to Hamilton

TAYLOR SENT UP THE MUSKINGUM

[Gen. Lachlan McIntosh to Maj. Richard Taylor. Washington Papers. Contemporary transcript.]

FORT PITT 8th February 1779

SIR:

As you was one of the Council of Officers yesterday who were Unanimously of opinion, that Fort Laurens is a Post of such Importance it should by no means be given up, and that the only way of sending supplys to it as we are now Circumstanced and at this season of the year, is by water.—and as I have entire Confidence in your prudence and Conduct in executing a Business of such Consequence, you are hereby ordered to take the Command of such a party as you think Necessary for the purpose.—Two hundred Keggs of flour are now ready and in the Boats here, and you will take in fifty Barrells of Beef and Porke at Beaver and Wheeling in your way, besides the provision that will be necessary for your party going and returning, which will be a sufficient supply till next fall.

You will also get as much whiskey as the Commissary of Issues can spare, some medecines from the Surgeon of the Hospital, and a Black smith with his Tools, and some Iron and steel for the use of that Garrison, with any other articles, which you know them to stand in need of as you are lately come from it.

As our present situation will heardly Spare the two Boats you carry from this place and they will be rather small for your party, and all these provisions and stores, you will endevour to fit out one or two of the Boats now at Wheeling to Carry with you up the River Muskingham, one of which you may leave with Colonel Gibson, if he should find it necessary, and endevour to bring all the rest of these Boats at Wheeling or any other Boats, Flat, or Cannoes you find upon the Way up to Beaver Creek when you return.

As your health and private affairs required your Going home and this necessary business, has disapointed you now, You have leave of absence for three Months when you return here again, provided the situation of our affairs then will admit of it.

I wish you Success and am Sir Yours &C.

L M

at Vincennes, when captured by Clark's men. It was acquired by Dr. Draper with the Clark Papers.

REPORTS FROM THE DELAWARES

[Extract of letter from John Heckewelder to Col. John Gibson. Washington Papers. A. L.]

DEAR SIR:

Pagelend came back last Fryday with no Answer from the Wyondotts, to the Speech—a few Words were only said by the half King & which were, Cousin at Cooschacking! I tell You once more, keep away from the Virg[a]—John Montour recieved his Letter and John Killbocks Speech, Jumped up for Joy and said, my friend Dodge is alive yet, but told Pagelend twas to late; had he received the Letter but 3 or 4 Days sooner it would have done very well, but to break that which was now agreed to, would cost him his Life. Capt[n] Pipe says he will move with all his Men to one Side & not suffer any of them to go to War—Your Letters which were taken in the engagement near Your Garrison were read in Pagelends presense at the Wyondott Towns & many a hint given to the same, likewise much spoken of Us here, and our Comunicating with the Virgin[a]—Girty was present in the engagement. Great bragging of what they had done[1]—Goods enough at Sandusky but only for the Wariors, Hanging for the disposal of the same or any other purposes: as the Gover[r] orders—The Design of the Enemy to be kept an entire secret, & none of the same to commit any Hostility's till the appointed Time—Nobody to come this Way for fear of discovering the secret. etc:

Pray what must this secret be? perhaps to come by Way of Water from Detroit with Cannon then up Cajahaga Creek where but 4 or 5 Miles Land Carriage to the head and upper Lake of this River, then down the same to Your Garrison. Or? to surround Your Garrison & try to starve you out Or? to try to decieve You by way of Strategem By all accounts the Garrison at Tuscorawas is their Object. This Days news by a Woman from the Wyondott Towns is, that Wingenund came into a House where she was (He not observing her a Stranger) saying the Conclusion is now made that the next full Moon the Wyandotts, Mingoes, Shawanos and Dellawares were to attack the Fort at Tuscorawas.

[1] Referring to the ambuscade of Captain Clark's party near Fort Laurens. See *ante*, 210–11.

[Capt. John Killbuck to Col. John Gibson and Col. George Morgan. 1H22. Contemporary transcript.]

CUSHAKING, Febuary 9th, 1779.

BROTHER:

My Messengers which I sent to the Wyondotts are already returned again, two days after they delivered the Speech to the Wyondotts they Understood that they were to receive an answer, but the Warriors in the meantime coming in with a Prisoner & 2 scalps & a great many Letters, & having all those read, put a Stop to all, & understood they were to receive no Answer to the Speech. In the meantime however considering of what was mentioned in the letters, the half King spoke to the following: "Cousin at Cooschacking I have told you a Year ago leave of[f] sending letters to the Virginians, & quit them entirely, I have pealed bark & stop't the road between them & you, that you might not come together any more, but you still continue to go to them, now I tell you once more, leave entirely your Correspondence with the Virg[a] & send no more letters to them, Consider yourself Cousin, you alone are diverse from all other Nations, all the Nations are of one mind but you I am quite astonished at you & your works, & must needs think you are the Cause of the Virginians building a Fort at Tucarawas, I cannot think otherwise but you have sold them that land entirely. I now tell you again Cousin at Cooschacking do not go any more to the Virginians neither towards them, for if I see you there, I will Consider you as a Virginian, & kill you the same as I will kill the Virginians." My Messengers could not hear any news there, for nobody would take any notice of them, they appearing to one another as Strangers, & keeping their Matters private, tho' at last said they would send the Message over the lake to Detroit, but what answer might be given they knew not. There are but four Nations on this side of the lake, that know of what is going on, but which is keep Secret. The Wyondotts, Mingoes, Shawanes, and the Wyondochala gang. Capt[a] Pipe says he has nothing to do with all those People, & their affairs, & will Set his Men on one side, & quite out of the way, & bid them set still there. He is looked on by the Wyondotts as as a Virginian, on account of his not joining them. Capt[a] Pipe says likewise it is impossible that the Mingoes can consider of any thing that is good, they being sensible of their Wickedness, & the Mischief they have done, & this appeared likewise to be the case with the Wyondotts.

Brother: this is the News my two Messengers have brought, which I had sent with Speeches to the Wyondotts. Now Brother it really looks very dangerous, & tho' my Messengers Ears were Stop't, I have Since their return heard something whispered of, & taken notice of it, It appears that you will be attacked in a few days, & at the Close of this Moon

JOHN KILLBUCK

To Coll. Morgan at Fort Pitt

BROTHER TAMENEND: You desired I might meet you Soon at fort Pitt, but I must inform you that I begin to be afraid, the times appear very dangerous, I therefor desire you to arise, & come as far as Fort M°Intosh, were I will meet you in Eleven days from this day.[1]

JOHN KILLBUCK

DIFFICULTIES AT FORT LAURENS

[Col. John Gibson to Gen. Lachlan McIntosh. 15S171–74. Summary and transcript.]

FORT LAURENS 13th Feb. 1779

DEAR GENERAL:

Yours of the 31st January came safe to hand by the two Indians. In my last letter I omitted mentioning to you that Mr Sample went to Cooshacking to purchase and bring off corn and skins, he having requested me not to mention it lest Mrs Sample might be uneasy. He returned from Cooshacking the 31st January and brought the inclosed from John Killbuck, by which you will be informed of the disposition of the other Indians. Mr Sample informs me, that he arrived at Cooshacking the 22d January, that the next afternoon John Nash, a soldier of the 13th Regt, whom they left at their camp opposite to the town, was killed and scalped by a Delaware Indian, uncle to Delaware George,[2] that on the 24th two Delawares shot three of the best horses and carried off two

[1] Endorsed on the original Mss.: "Captn John Killbucks Letter to Collr John Gibson at Fort Lawrence," and "Copies of a letter from Captn Killbuck to Col. John Gibson Dated 9th February 79."

[2] For this chief see *Frontier Defense*, 117, note 80.

more, ten bags, some bells, two saddles and some blankets; that on the 27th, the same rascals returned again to Cooshacking and were seen by the Indians—that Killbuck brought them into the town, called a council, and that after he had scolded them, they promised to return the things and went off for that purpose. But one of them hid himself on the road from the Moravian Town to Cooshacking, and as Peter Parchment[1] and another soldier of the 13th Regt were returning from the Moravian Town to Cooshacking in sight of the last mentioned place, he fired on them, the ball broke Parchment's arm entered his breast, but has since been taken out. Parchment ran a few yards, being obliged to drop his gun; the Indian took up the gun and was going to fire again, but was prevented by Capt[n] Johnny,[2] who happened to be coming along the road, who hallooed to him not to shoot. He then ran off and crossed the river; and altho' this was done in sight of the town, none of the Indians pursued them. You will see the apology Killbuck makes in his message to me for not following them—whether that will suffice I must leave to the General to determine. Indeed he even says that Col. White Eyes and I deceived them—that the tomahawk was forced on them out of doors, where there was no council fire; that it was never meant by them to join us as warriors, that they were only to pilot us. The Moravians sent eleven of their people to assist Mr Sample and party in bringing up the wounded man, and Killbuck sent nine. * * * The Moravians wish a Fort built near their town as they could then assist with provisions and men. "Should the other nations continue to strike us, we shall, in my opinion, only have the Moravians

[1] Peter Parchment was born in Virginia about the year 1754. At the beginning of the Revolution he enlisted in Gibson's regiment for three years, and served until the wound received at this time made it necessary for him to be discharged at Pittsburgh. Although his arm was crippled as a result of the wound, he was much engaged in Indian wars. He went out on Crawford's expedition in 1782; in 1793 he served under Wayne as a captain of militia. He was a companion of Brady in scouting expeditions and in Indian adventures. See an interview with his son in Draper Mss., 3S112–16. He died at an advanced age in Allegheny County, Pa., having for some years drawn a pension. On the wounding of Parchment see Heckewelder, *Narrative*, 208.

[2] Captain Johnny was a Delaware chief of the Turkey Clan who visited Congress in 1779. His wife was a white woman who had been a prisoner among the Indians. In 1776 he removed with his family to the Moravian village and became a convert, assuming in baptism the name of Israel. His tribal name was Welapachtschiechen. He was murdered during Williamson's campaign against the Moravian Indians. See Pennsylvania Historical Society, *Bulletin*, May, 1847, 148.

upon whom to depend. If there was any possibility of evacuating this post, and building a fort between the Moravian Town and Cooshocking, I think it ought to be done for the protection of those poor Moravians whom I think the States are in honor bound to protect. * * * Recommend sending, if not a reinforcement, a supply of provisions and other stores, without delay to this place. You may depend on my defending it to the last extremity, and of my care to prevent surprise. The officers and men here think it is rather hard they should be curtailed in their rations when the troops at the interior posts draw full rations. I am not the least afraid they will forsake me, let what will happen." Speaks of being illy supplied with clothing and shoes. * * *

JOHN GIBSON.

To GEN. M°INTOSH.

[Return of stores and provisions. 15S180. Transcript.]

A return of the Military stores at Fort Laurens Feb. 13th, 1779: 15½ casks of powder; 19½ pigs of lead; ½ cask of flints; 10 muskets, and 3 rifles. The arms are unfit for service.

ANDW LEWIS, Lieut.[1]

A general return of the provision stores at Fort Laurens Feb. 12th 1779: 7740 lbs flour; 9111 lbs beef; 50 lbs salt in kegs.

SAM. SAMPLE

A true return.

PREPARATIONS FOR AN ALLEGHENY EXPEDITION

[Gen. George Washington to Gen. Lachlan McIntosh. Washington Papers. Draft.]

HEAD QUARTERS MIDDLE BROOK FebY 15th 1779.

DEAR SIR:

Inclosed is the copy of a Letter which was written to you from Philadelphia & now transmitted for fear of miscarriage.

The more I contemplate on an expedition from Fort Pitt, the

[1] Probably Lieut. Andrew Lewis, the son of Thomas Lewis, who enlisted in the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment in 1776, was first commissioned ensign, and then lieutenant. He resigned Feb. 12, 1781, but reënlisted under Wayne and lost an arm in his campaign.

more perswaded I am of the superior advantages that will result from its co-operation with some enterprize from this quarter (if circumstances will permit) but as a measure of this kind depends upon contingencies, no perfect plan can be yet formed; but as there will be little or no difference in the preparation for an Expedition up the Alligany against the hostile tribes of the Six Nations, & one against the Indians more westerly & Detroit, I would have you confine your attention more to the first than the latter objects; keeping the design as much as possible an impenetrable secret; under an Idea that you are preparing to prosecute the objects of the last campaign; and to lessen as much as possible the expence of land transportation, you mean to make use of that by water. The only thing that can lead to a discovery of the real design, is the steps which must necessarily be taken to obtain a thorough knowledge of the rout, & other circumstances to form the plan, but this may be covered in a great degree by the adoption of similar measures (which may eventually be equally necessary) the other way.—Your oblique enquiries in the first case, should always be accompanied with pointed ones in the second, which will naturally give the biass to that way of thinking.

I am clearly of opinion that water transportation wherever it can be used will be found most eligible, and least expensive; I therefore again repeat the desire contained in my last respecting vessels; but am somewhat at a loss to decide on the proper kind—Batteaux will, I fear, be too heavy & unwieldy for such waters as you will have occasion to go up; and will, besides, be expensive—Large canoes—say pettiaugers[1]—unless well made are also heavy, and perhaps equally unfit for narrow waters and crooked streams; nor will they, it is to be feared, do in a swell unless modelled by skilful hands but as great part of the workmanship of these is to be effected by common labourers, & no Iron pitch or oakum requisite, they must on these acc^{ts} be infinitely the cheapest & easiest to be obtained and therefore to be prefered—But still I can not give an absolute order for the prefering them to Batteaux but leave the matter to your own judgment & to circumstances after having given this opinion.—Should the Pettiauger deserve the preference I recommend it to you to get some skillful Persons as master workmen & directors.—If there are any Men with you from the seacoast; or broad waters in Virg^{a} Maryland or Pennsylvania they, more than probably, will be proper hands to em-

[1] A dugout or pirogue.

ploy; as they know the kind made use of in Chesapeak & Delaware Bays (where they will live in almost any weather)—The reason of my being thus particular in respect to this matter is, that vessels properly constructed would be light—easily transported into Lake Erie and answer there to coast & by serving a double purpose, be fitted for any event & save much expence to the public. The French [in the] last war had a number of Bark Canoes in these waters. These are extremely light & easily transported by land from place to place, but so easily wrecked as to render a dependance on them precarious—I mention them because they are cheap and may be called in aid of the others—They used to make them of Birch bark but if this is difficult to be had other kinds I suppose will do.

The necessity of the enquiries directed in my last (added to what I have hear said) will appear so obvious, that I am perswaded you will not delay a moments time, nor slip an oppertunity, to obtain information sufficient to form the expedition for cooperation (if that shall be ultimately determined upon)—In doing this, it is needless to repeat how indispensably expedient it is to obtain a thorough knowledge of the nature & extent of the navigation above Fort Pitt—How far it is from the head of this navigation to the settlements of the Six nations, especially those of the Senecas—& what kind of Country to pass through—whether there is any better rout by the way of prisquile & the Lake—whether there is any—& what kind of communication betw[n] the upper parts of the allegany [word illegible] Kittanning, Venango[1] &c & the well settled parts of Pensylvania which is necessary to be known on two acc[ts] as it may serve to draw supplies, & answer for a retreat in case of extreme necessity—It is also necessary to have in contemplation proper places to establish small posts as for the security of canoes and other purposes. The Kittaning & Wenango appear from the fase of Evans map[2] to be eligible —others will be necessary higher up the Allegany and one essentially so at the head of the navigation, with a strong guard for the security of the vessels.

Your vessels (let them be of what kind they will) should be accommodated with both oars & setting Poles—the first for deep water (and keeping in the middle of the River in case of necessity)

[1] For a sketch of Fort Venango see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 162, note 88.

[2] Lewis Evans published at Philadelphia in 1755 a map "of the middle British colonies of America, and of the country of the confederate Indians," which was a standard authority.

—& the latter for the sides & shallow water—both these should be made of good wood, & in time, that they may season & get light before they are used.—It would be no bad exercise, & I am sure it would be good policy, to practice the soldiers when they are disengaged from other duty in rowing & setting vessels against stream; they will, otherwise, be very awkward when they are brought to it by necessity.

I shall endeavour to give you as little trouble as possible with Militia next Campaign, not only to avoid expence to the public, but that your operations may be more governable, & pointed with respect to time, in co-operating with other bodies—The Adj^{t} Genl will furnish you with copies of General orders for re-inlisting the Soldiers of the Continental Regiments, and I trust that every exertion of the officers will be used to comply with the views of them—Brodhead may send officers into the back parts of Pensylv^{a} and Gibson into those of Virginia, to try their success under the resolve inclosed. How you stand provided with the means I know not, but in case of deficiency, you are to apply to the board of treasury for Money to answer these purposes. I hope these two Regiments may be got pretty strong by the middle of May—and Congress having empowered me to compleat some Companies of Col^{o} Rawling's Regiment, these, with the standing Forces under your Command at present, will (as they are Troops to be depended on) make a respectable body. —I have directed the Commissary Genl of purchases (Wadsworth)[1] under the inclosed resolve, to lay in four months provisions for 12,00 men at Pittsburg, by the first of May. He will continue Col^{o} Morgan in this business, if he chooses it—but as it is necessary to avoid interference in office that all the branches of the same department should be under one general direction, & superintendance, my orders have gone, and must go through him.

That I may know what stores of different kinds—Tools &c. are wanted—let me have exact returns of all those you now have in the department—Your attention should be turned in time to proper guides for the expedition—men in whom you can confide—

[1] Jeremiah Wadsworth was born at Hartford, Conn., in 1743. He was deputy commissary-general of purchases, June 18– Aug. 6, 1777. On April 9, 1778, he was appointed commissary-general and served until his resignation, Jan. 1, 1780. He was afterwards elected delegate to the Continental Congress, 1786–88, and Congressman from Connecticut, 1789–95. He died at his Hartford home, April 30, 1804.

and that you may not be hurried so much in these matters as to obtain imperfect acc^{ts} I do not wish you to be at head Quarters till about the middle or last of April; by which time it is to be hoped that clear and perfect information of the whole distance may be obtained from Fort Pitt to the head of the navigation of the Alligany, & the distance afterwards to the Indian towns—so that the Rout may be compleatly marked, & the stages & halting days named, that the different Armies may move in concert, & know with certainty what dependance to place on each other & where they are.

BRIG. GEN^{L} M^{C}INTOSH

THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF

[Gen. George Washington to Col. Daniel Brodhead. 1H24–25. Transcript.]

HEAD QUARTERS 15th, Feby 1779.

DEAR SIR:

I have received your letter of the 16th Ult^{o} Its contents give me that concern which ever arises in my mind from any indication of a want of that harmony and mutual confidence between officers, which the public interest requires.

As it is my duty to remedy every abuse of which I am authorized to take cognizance—if any charge were brought against General McIntosh I should immediately give it proper attention. But a moments reflexion will make you sensible that your general assertion and opinion with regard to the dissatisfaction of his officers is by no means a foundation for any measures on my part respecting him, that will either convey or imply censure.

Impartial Justice as well as that delicate regard which is due to the character of an officer, and which you and everyone in a similar case would expect, requires something more positive and definite to proceed upon.

If there are discontents among the officers—the motives of them must be known before their merits can be judged of and they alone can furnish grounds for an investigation.

The sole reason for appointing General McIntosh to his present command was an opinion of his being in every view qualified for it, and I must observe that while the General was immediately

under me, his conduct gave the most favorable impressions of him in every respect.

I have only to add that the honorable the Congress having put this command immediately under my direction, and thereby created a degree of responsibility in me, I am particularly called upon to watch over its success.[1]

And as it is my duty and wish on the one hand to redress every just complaint—so it will be expected of me on the other to discountenance every ill founded uneasiness that may prejudice the service.

Upon the whole it is my earnest desire that every one will as far as depends on him—cultivate and promote that good understanding, which is indispensible to the general interest.

And I entreat that you will do all in your power to accomplish this desirable end.

I am Dear Sir Your Most obed^{t} Servt

G^{o} WASHINGTON.

COLONEL BROADHEAD.

BRITISH ADVANCE AGAINST FORT LAURENS

[Capt. John Killbuck to Gen. Lachlan McIntosh and Col. George Morgan. 1H26–27. Contemporary transcript.]

COOCHOCKING Feby 18th 1779

SIR:

Just now about ten oClock at night Captn Jno Killbuck came & brought the following disagreeable Intelligence which he received this evening by an Indian who came from Wyondughwolands Town which place he left four Days ago. Viz^{t}

That the Governor of Detroit with 800 Indians and Cannon along with him went to Wabash this last Winter, took a Fort at a place called by the Indians Chuphacking,[2] from thence he went

[1] Jan. 23, 1779, Congress resolved "That the Commander in Chief be authorized and directed to superintend the Operations from Fort Pitt, for the Security of the Western frontiers and the Annoyance of the Enemy; and from time to time to give such orders respecting the same as he shall judge expedient." *Jour. of Cont. Cong.*, XIII, 109.

[2] The reference is to Gov. Henry Hamilton's capture of Vincennes in December, 1778. See his own account in *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 176–85. Heckewelder

down the River to the Falls of Ohio River in order to take that Fort, from thence he is to proceed to Fort Pitt & take all the Forts by the Way. That the Commandant at Detroit had told the Indians to make an attempt on Fort Laurens & in case they were not able to take it he would come himself & help them, that to Day seven Days they had begun to March for that Place to to besiege it. That the Warriors would come to Coochacking for Provision and if we Should not give it them freely they would take by force what they pleased & kill us. Likewise if they met any body at some distance from our Towns they would kill him. If they should meet any Delaware Indians at Fort Laurens they should be treated as prisoners and be killed as well as the Virginians That they would take care to prevent that no reinforcement Should get into the Fort from Beaver Creek. That they had heard there was some Ammunition in the Fort which they wanted, & after they had taken the Fort they would only cast a few Bullets & then proceed to Fort M°Intosh to take it, That 19 Warriors of Wiondughwolends gang did not chuse to fight against the Fort but went over the big River to do Mischief.

Capt[n] John Killbuck says further.

Brother Taimenend & Gen[l] M°Intosh: I with some of my Counsellors intended to come & see you & to brighten our Chain of Friendship but as this now happened & because we are in a Dangerous time I cannot come at the time I thought for I had proposed to set of[f] to morrow I therefore must wait till a more convenient time & till those Dark Clouds are pass'd over a little.

Brothers: What we have agreed with one another I shall stand to it Our Friendship nobody shall break & much more at such a Dangerous time I shall hold the more fast to our Friendship even if I should be overthrown I shall not let it Slip out of my Hand.

Brother Taimenend: the time comes on that I shall have a great many Enemies. My young People have no ammunition to defend ourselves our Women & Children. I therefore beg of you to let me have four casks of Powder & lead & flints for our own use.

CAPT[n] KILLBUCK TO COL MORGAN & GEN[l] M°INTOSH.

A Copy of this News is sent to Fort Laurens at the same time by Express.

wrote to Colonel Gibson, Feb. 8, 1779, "The Governor of Detroit has taken all those little garrisons which Col. Clark had taken in possession, in Tschubhicking; there were but nine men left to maintain." Draper Mss., 15S171.

McINTOSH RECALLED

[Summary of resolution of Congress, Feb. 20, 1779. Printed in *Jour. of Cont. Cong.*, XIII, 213.]

Whereas Brigadier McIntosh hath requested leave to retire from that command: Resolved that the Commander in Chief be directed to appoint a proper officer to succeed to the said command; and that Brigadier-General McIntosh on being relieved repair to headquarters or to such post as shall be assigned him by the Commander in Chief.

MILITIA TO BE READY

[Gen. Lachlan McIntosh to Col. David Shepherd. 1SS157. A. L. S.]

FORT PITT 21st February 1779

SIR:

I am informed from Tuscorawas that the Enemy with the asistance of the Indians have Retaken most of the posts that submitted last Fall to Colonel Clark, which I hope is not true, but if it should, it may probably encourage the Savages to make an attempt upon Fort Laurens & in that case I have desired the other Countys to have a certain number of Men draughted & ready upon Short Notice to March & Chastise them when they are Collected together, which will be the best Chance we can possibly have to be Revenged for their Cruelties. Therefore I could wish that you would have two Companys of One Captain one Lieutenant and one Ensign—& 3 Serg^{ts} 3 Corperals & 54 privates each, Draughted & ready in the Same Manner in your County, to prevent such Mistakes as happened with your Men the last Campaign my Meaning is that after your Men are Draughted, & ordered to be always ready, they Stay at home, & mind their business unless they are called upon—and when they are, they shall be put under pay immediately. It is always better to attact the Enemy in their own Country, than in our Settlements which Shews the Advantage of having a post there to keep them in Awe. And this Method is attended with this further advantage, that there is a body of Men always ready to oppose them if they should Invade us.

please to give my Compliments to Capt. Ogle,[1] & should be glad to know what the most Considerate of your people think of the Campaign now they have got over their Fatigue

I am respectfully Sir Your most Ob^{t} Servt

LACH^{N} M^{C}INTOSH. B. G.

COL^{O} SHEPHERD L^{t} of Ohio County

You will please to Return an answer to this immediately by the Express.

THE FRIENDLY INDIANS

[Col. Daniel Brodhead to Delaware and other chiefs. 1H29–32. L. S.]

FORT M^{C}INTOSH Feby 23rd 1779

Colonel Brodhead To Captn Killbuck & the other Chiefs of the Delawares Shawnese & Mohickon Nations at Coochocking.

BROTHERS:

I have received your Letter and although it contains bad News, Yet it gives me great satisfaction that you are Wise & act a prudent part which in the end will certainly Operate in favour of yourselves your Children & Grand Children to the latest posterity, especially as your conduct is steady & your Friendship firm at so critical a juncture as the present appears to be.

Brothers: Our good Friend & Brother Colonel George Morgan on hearing from you that, you would get up & go with him to See & speak with the wise men of the thirteen United States of America has appointed some good Men to attend & take care of you & your Children to Philad^{a} Three of which are Mr Dodge Mr Kelly[2] & Mr Sullivan whom you know. Himself is gone forward to clear the Road & provide Things proper for a kind reception. And I am sorry you do not find it well to leave your Town for fear of the bad People who you will soon see are selling their Lives & all they have for a little Rum & a Blanket.

Brothers: I have often heard the great noise of the Birds & seen heavy & dark Clouds appear And I have as often seen the Birds driven off or go to Sleep & the Clouds disappear and I am sure the present Clouds can be dispelled by some Smoak & Fire which you will hear of before long.

[1] For this officer see *Frontier Defense*, 36, note 69.

[2] For Thady Kelley see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 231, note 73.

Brothers: General M°Intosh is likewise gone to Philadelphia But I remain here & you know that I am your Countryman & love you and will do anything to serve you and always be glad to advise with you for your Good as well as my own But as the Times are bad and there are a great many bad People in the Woods it may be imprudent to trust so large a Quantity of ammu[ni]tion to be carried from here to your Town unless you could send a great number of Men to Guard it which you cannot at present do without exposing your Families to great apparent Danger.

I think therefore it will be best for you to get a supply of Ammunition from our Brother Col° Gibson at Tuscarawas and if it would suit you to go and live near that Fort for a short time untill I can March out an Army I should be much rejoiced because you & him could give each other mutual assistance & be strong against all the bad & Foolish People untill I come to sweep them away.

Brothers: I have sent some Boats to Tuscarawas they are loaded with Provisions for my People there These Boats will come by your Town And I expect the officer who commands the Guard will make you a small present of Flour to make you some American Bread. I have sent one of your People to carry this Letter to you & another to Major Taylor And I hope he will return to me again so that I may reward him for his Trouble. And I shall take it as a Strong proof of your Friendship if you will send a number of your good Men to help & Guard Major Taylor up to Tuscarawas And I hope one of your young Men which I have sent to Tuscarawas will return to me likewise with such information as he receives of the Evil minded People for which Service he shall likewise be well rewarded.

Brothers: Next Summer you will see a great number of French Men with me Your Father the French King has joined the American States and he will send Men to strengthen my Army and because you are wise you shall soon have an oppertunity to laugh at the Fools whose Eyes & Ears we have in vain strove to open for three years past.

Brothers: Your wrongs we regard as our own and if any nation or nations shall be foolish enough to strike you or to Rob or Steal from you, you may depend on it that they shall suffer severely But actions speak more than words and you shall soon hear enough of them all the way from here to Detroit and from Quebec to Detroit.

Brothers: I am now on your Land and I stand in need of a Garden & some Pasture for my Horses & Corn too Both here and at Tuscarawas But I will shew you that I am an honest Man & will not Plow nor Fence your Lands without your Consent & then I will pay you what it is worth in Rent But I hope you will write to me & give me leave for I am in great need of some Pasture & Gardens.

Brothers: I hope the great good Spirit will remain with you & keep your Eyes open so that you may remain in the Right way. I am your Friend & Brother

DANIEL BRODHEAD
Col° 8th P. Regt Commandg Westn Departm.
Col° Brodhead to Captn Killbuck.

Brother: Some of your wise men have known me ever since I was a little Boy and therefore will believe what I tell them. They shall find I will never deceive them. I am sorry you think the times too dangerous to go to Philadª and would advise you to be strong & go & meet your Brethren at the great Council Fire because I am sure they will be glad to see you and you will return very well satisfied

I am your Friend & Brother

DANIEL BRODHEAD Col° Commandg Westn Departmt.
CAPTn JN° KILLBUCK.

[Gen. Lachlan McIntosh to John Killbuck. Washington Papers. Contemporary transcript.]

FORT PITT 25th February 1779

BROTHER CAPT: JOHN KILLBUCK:

last night I received your Message of the 18th of this month, from Coochocking, and thank you for sending me the news,—I hope you will always do so when any thing extraordinary happens, I am glad to find my good friend Captain John Killbuck and the wise men of Coochocking hold fast the Chain of friendship between us yet, when so many foolish people are rushing on to their own Distruction,—The Governor of Detroit as I have often told you, knows that he is weak himself and that we will take his Fort and Country from him this summer; and you will soon see he is Cheating and deceiving the Indians to fight for him, and he does not care if they should all be killed or drove from their Country at

last for it,—he tells you Lyes about the Fort at the falls of Ohio: he cannot take it, and Colonel Clarke is now at Illinois, and all the French and Indians there, like wise people have made peace and Joined him,— and we will have men, Cannon, and ammunition enough here and there too, this Summer to take the whole Country the English have.

Brother: I hope you and the Wise men of Coochocking will be strong and let nobody break the friendship, agreed upon and subsisting between us, and we will make the Delewares a great and free People: we told you at first in the begining of the War to sit still and smoke your Pipes but when these wicked men Continued in their mischief and threaten you as well as us, when we became one people, it was time for all the friends of America and liberty to take up the hatchet for their own sakes with us, as your people did at the last Treaty at Fort Pitt and as you have now proved the sincerity of your Intentions and friendship for us I will tell you now what I have been thinking a long time of doing for you and did wish to see you here to mention it to you as the people of Coochocking and the United States of America are now one people, I want to make a Company of your young men to Consist of sixty of them, and to have two Capt^{s} 1^{t} & 2^{d} of the Greatest and best warriors among you, and to be chosen by your own Council and wise men and all of them to have provision sent to your Town and served out to them every day, one suit of Clothes every year, and their pay as our people have while the war lasts provided they will take care of our Boats and Horses when they are Carrying provision and other things, Carry news, and Join us when we go to war, to shew us the path, find out trails, and Any thing else that may be required of them, this I would have you Consider well upon, and let me know how you and your people will like it and the men who you will Chuse for Captains that I may appoint them and desire our beloved man, Colonel Gibson to tell them what they are to do.

Brother: You gave us leave yourselves like good men to make Forts for our provision upon your land on our path to Detroit, untill we take that place and now as the path is bad for our horses and the waters high, I have sent Major Taylor in Boats with Flour to Fort Laurens, which are in Muskingham River by this time, as they have been gone from here this two weeks, and if there is any danger of them, I desire you will inform them of it Immediately that they may avoid it and to deliver the Inclosed

letter,—and I hope your people will give them every assistance they can and Guard them up safe to the Fort which will convince us that you intend to Continue your friendship, and I will pay you and them for the Trouble.

Brother: You desire Colo: Morgan to send powder lead and Flints to you for the defence of yourselves your Women and Children, he went away from here again 3 or 4 weeks ago; but I will send all these things to you, and when our provision Boat[s] returns from Muskingham River, if you will then send some of your people to Fort M°Intosh, one of these Boats shall go round to Coochocking with them, and some flour and whiskey for you also, but take care that no bad people will hurt or Trouble my Boats or men while they are going to Fort Laurens and Continue in your River, I wish our friendship to Continue as long as the Sun and Moon endures

I am particularly your friend

GENERAL M°INTOSH Comd[e] West of the mountains

Send the Inclosed letter to Major Taylor Immediately

BRODHEAD APPOINTED COMMANDANT

[Gen. George Washington to Col. Daniel Brodhead. 1H33–36. Contemporary transcript.]

HEAD QUARTERS MIDDLEBROOK 5 March, 1779

SIR:

Brig[r] Gen[l] M°Intosh having requested from Congress leave to retire from the command to the westward they have by a resolve of the 20th Feby. granted his request and directed me to appoint an officer to succeed him.

From my opinion of your abilities, your former acquaintance with the back country, and the knowledge you must have acquired upon this last tour of duty, I have appointed you to the command in preference to a stranger, who would not have time to gain the necessary information between that of his assuming the command and the commencement of operations.

As soon as Congress had vested me with the superintendance and direction of affairs to the westward, I gave general M°Intosh orders to make the preparations and enquiries contained in my letters of the 31st January and 15th Feby. last. Copies of these

letters he will deliver to you and will inform you how far he hath proceeded in the several matters recommended to him, and will likewise communicate to you what measures he may have taken, and what orders may have been given towards the completion of the remainder. You will observe by my letter of the 15th Feby, that I have directed the commissary general to endeavour to form his magazines by the 1st of May, by which time I hope the other preparations will be in sufficient forwardness to move. To induce you to exert yourself to the utmost to be ready by the above time I need only make use of one argument, w^h^ is that the success of the intended expedition does not depend upon the progress of one body of men, but upon the co-operation of several, any one of which failing in point of time may occasion the failure of the whole.[1]

The establishment of adequate magazines and the preparation of a sufficient number of boats, of the kind that may be deemed most proper, are what ought principally to engage your attention. Should the enquiries concerning the country, the waters, the distances &c. be not so complete as might be wished we might yet proceed; but without the others, we must be entirely at a stand. I had desired Gen. M°Intosh to come down after he had put matters recommended to him on a proper Train, and to bring down a list of such stores and other necessaries as might be wanting for the expedition. But I do not see how there will be a possibility of your doing this. Had Gen. M°Intosh have come down you would have been fully competent to carrying on the preparations; but if you quit the post I apprehend there will be no officer left of sufficient weight and ability. This is an opinion which I would wish you to keep to yourself, because it might give offence to officers in all others respects very worthy of the stations they fill. I must therefore desire you to remain at Fort Pitt, and you shall be from time to time fully informed of every thing necessary for your government. I have directed General M°Intosh[2] in case you should be absent, to send to you by a special messenger

[1] This expedition, which was designed in retaliation for the attacks on Wyoming and Cherry Valley by the Indians and Loyalists from Niagara and the Iroquois towns of central New York, was put under the command of Gen. John Sullivan. Washington later abandoned the idea of coöperation with the Western Department, because of the great distance between the two divisions of the movement. See *post*, 293.

[2] Washington wrote, Mar. 5, 1779, to McIntosh ordering him to turn the command over to Brodhead. See *Calendar of Correspondence of George Washington with the Officers* (Washington, 1915), II, 934.

wherever you may be; and I must desire you to repair to Fort Pitt, with the utmost expedition, as you will, notwithstanding every exertion, find the time, which you have for the execution of the business full short for its completion.

I am Sir Your most ob^{t} & hble Servt

G^{o} WASHINGTON.

HOSTILITIES BEGIN

[Gen. Lachlan McIntosh to Gen. George Washington. 15S175–80. Transcript.]

F^{t} PITT, March 12th 1779.

The emigration down the Ohio from this quarter I fear will depopulate it altogether, unless I have orders to put a timely stop to it immediately. It is thought that near one half of what remain here will go down to Kentucky, the Falls[1] or the Illinois, as they say themselves, this spring. Their design of securing land is so great, notwithstanding the danger of this country, they will go, &c.

I am sorry to inform you, that contrary to my expectations, things have taken a turn here much for the worse, since I wrote you the 13th of January.[2] The 30th of that month I rec^{d} an express from Col. Gibson, informing me that one Simon Girty, a renegade among many others from this place, got a small party of Mingoes, a name by which the Six Nations, or rather Seneca Tribe, is known among the Western Indians and waylaid Capt. Clark of the 8th P^{a} Reg^{t} with a seargent and 14 privates, about three miles this side of Fort Laurens as they were returning after escorting a few supplies from that post, and made Clark retreat to the fort again after killing two and taking one of his men with his saddle bags and all his letters.

Upon hearing this unexpected intelligence, I immediately sent for Cols. Crawford and Brodhead to advise with them upon the best method of supplying that garrison with provisions, of which it was very short, and we had barely horses enough fit for service to transport a sufficient quantity of flour over the Mountains

[1] The Falls of the Ohio, at the present site of Louisville, Ky. This settlement was begun by George Rogers Clark on his expedition to the Illinois country.

[2] This letter does not seem to have been preserved.

for our daily consumption, and scarce of forage for them, altho' they were most worn down. It was therefore, thought most eligible upon that and other accounts to send a supply by water up Muskingum river by Maj. Taylor, who was charged with that duty. * * *

The 26th of February a scalping party killed and carried off 18 persons, men, women, and children, upon the branches of Turtle Creek, 20 miles east of this, upon the Pennsylvania road, which was the first mischief done in the settlements since I marched for Tuscarawas, and made me apprehensive now that the savages were all inimically inclined, and struck the inhabitants of Westmoreland with such a panick that great part of them were moving away.[1] While I was endeavoring to rouse the militia, and contriving by their assistance to retaliate, and make an excursion to some Mingo Towns upon the branches of Alleghany river who were supposed to have done the mischief, a messenger came to me the 3d of March instant, who slipt out of Fort Laurens in the night of Sunday the 28th February—by whom Colo Gibson would not venture to write, and informed me that on the morning of Tuesday, the 23d February, a waggoner who was sent out of the Fort for the horses to draw wood, and 18 men to guard him, were fired upon, and all killed and scalped in sight of the Fort, which the messenger left invested and besieged by a number of Wyandotts, Chippewas, Delawares &c.; and in the last account I had from them, which made me very unhappy, as they were so short of provision, and out of my power to supply them with any quantity, or, if I had it, with men for an escort, since Major Taylor went, who I thought now was inevitably lost; and if I had both, there were no horses to carry it, or forage to feed them, without which they cannot subsist at this season.

In this extreme emergency and difficulty, I earnestly requested the Lieutenants of the several countys on this side of the Mountains to collect all of the men, horses, provision and forage they could at any price, and repair to Beaver Creek [Fort McIntosh] on Monday next, the 15th instant, in order to march on that or the next day to Tuscarawas; and if they would not be prevailed on to turn out, I was determined with such of the Continental troops as are able to march, and all the provisions we have, at all

[1] This raid originated at Niagara. See letter of Col. John Butler, the Loyalist partisan, in *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 374, 384.

events to go to the relief of Fort Laurens, upon the support of which I think the salvation of this part of the country depends.

I have yet no intelligence from the country, that I can depend on. Some say the people will turn out on this occasion with their horses; others, that mischievious persons influenced by our disgusted staff are discouraging them as much as possible. But I am now happily relieved by the arrival of Majr Taylor here, who returned with 100 men and 200 kegs of flour. He was six days going up about 20 miles of Musking[um] River, the waters were so high and stream so rapid; and as he had above 130 miles more to go, he judged it impossible to relieve Col. Gibson in time, and therefore returned, having lost two of his men sent to flank him upon the shore, who were killed and scalpt by some warriors coming down Muskingum river, and I have my doubts of our only pretended friends, the Delawares of Cooshocking, as none other are settled upon that water.

I have the honor to enclose you the last return from Col. Brodhead at Beaver Creek. * * *

LACHN McINTOSH, B. G. Coms Western Dept.

HIS EXCELLENCY GENl WASHINGTON.

[John Heckewelder to Col. Daniel Brodhead.[1] Washington Papers. L. S.]

COOCHACKING March 12th 1779

DEAR SIR:

I take this opportunity of laying before you my sentiments in Consideration of the present Critical times, and as I apprehend some matters may be misrepresented to you, I think it my duty to give you all the Intelligence I have Collected. the services which have been done in these days by the Councel of Coochacking, must be acknowledged by every friend to his Country. The Conclusion was made by the Enemy, that Fort Laurens should be attacked and to that purpose they were already gathered, and had surrounded that Post. The Delawares delivered speeches to the Heads of the Warriors, and with some trouble got the Enemy to return home again for this time. But out of fear Sir, that the Delaware Chiefs, might think that they had done more

[1] This letter appears to have been intended for General McIntosh and Colonel Brodhead jointly. See Draper Mss., 15S150–54. It was brought to Fort McIntosh in the "pad of a Moravian Indian's saddle."

than they really have, and for that reason report unto you, they had stop'd the Warriors entirely from doing any more mischief, or from making any attempt on that Garrison for the future, I must inform you that they are not at all yet inclined for peace. I have heard them this day (as a great part of them are here) they are not at all Content that the Delawares stop'd them in their undertaking, and say had it not been for them they would have had the Fort, and all what is in it by this time. They laid several schemes as I understood how to become Masters of the Fort, the first was to persuade the Coll, out in order to treat with him, and when performed, and he in their hands, to threaten to kill him, if he did not write a letter immediately to his Men in the Fort to surrender immediately.[1] Should they not be able to perform this, they were to Cut down the Picquets in the night and storm the Fort—in fine they have so many fine stories from the Governor of Detroit and his proceeding at the falls of the Ohio, and how he is Coming up the River in Boats, with a large Army, and a number of Cannon to take fort Pitt, As likewise that he the Governor, has received letters, that numbers of English are Coming up from Missisipi, both by land and water to his assistance, and to fight the Virginians that they do not care to hear a word from any body else but him. But this is not altogether their reason for going to war. I observe Robbery is their chief object, by their frequent wars they have become thieves and Robbers, and this drives them to war, without this they Cannot Content themselves, and therefore I think they deserve to be punished severely—Upon our hearing Sir that some of your Boats were Coming up Muskingum, with provisions for Fort Lawrens, and Considering the Circumstance, and that numbers of Warriors were gathered at that place, and daily were Coming in we thought Maj. Taylor in great danger, tho' at that time not knowing who it was, that was Coming and after Considering the matter well with the head Men of Coochacking, We Concluded it was best for the Major to turn back again, and therefore wrote a letter, informing him of all Circumstances, and adviseing him to turn back again, particularly as we understood he had but 200 Men with him this letter was sent the 28th. February, in the Morning by 2 Messengers from Coochacking, who went by water, a few hours, after they were gone 6 Mohickon Warriors, who some days

[1] This ruse was attempted with modifications at the siege of Boonesborough, Ky., in September, 1778.

before had stolen 2 of our Canoes and gone down the River in order to Cross the Ohio, and go to war, Came back with 2 Scalps, which they had taken, near the Mouth of this river, they made much noise, how the Virginians were Coming up with Boats, which gave us much Concern, as we supposed the whole Body of Warriors on hearing this, might alter their minds, and fall on the Boats, there being then at Fort Laurens near 300 assembled. We Considered what was to be done, and Concluded to send immediately two Messengers again to meet them, and turn them back as quick as possible, to which purpose I wrote a second [time] a letter to Major Taylor, but the Messenger finding nobody at the appointed place, and finding by all signs the Major was gone back again, after these 2 Men were killed, returned with the news to our greatest satisfaction.

We approve greatly of building a Fort upon Hockhockung, as it will not only be of great service to you, in your proceeding to Detroit, but also keep the bad People at a greater distance from Us here, much more as they had Concluded already to settle there, and for that reason Called the Delawares from here, to go and live with them there, Promising them to set still there but only meaning to have them first in their power, and then force them to go to war. The bringing up provisions by water to Fort Laurens is Certainly the best and Cheapest way, but the Head Men here think, that there ought to be at least 7 or 800 Men along with the Boats, or 400 on each side of the River. Last night 4 Warriors (belonging to a large party which went some time ago over the big River to war) came here on their return. They took 5 Children out of a house, somewhere about Redstone, then went to another house to murder, but their being some Men in the same, found it a difficult Matter, their Capt[n] (Delaware Georges Uncle) being killed there and another one very much Stabbed, they however killed two Men in that house. A Young Man whose name is George Hendricks[1] and who was taken Prisoner

[1] George Hendricks was a native of Botetourt County, Va. When fourteen years old he ran away from home and accompanied Boone to Kentucky, where in February, 1778, he was captured with the salt-makers at Blue Licks. Hendricks went to live at the Pickaway towns, where he was adopted into a Shawnee family. Having attempted to escape while the warriors were absent at the siege of Boonesborough (1778), he was met by the party on their return, recaptured, and severely punished at the Pickaway towns. Thence the Kickapoo rescued him, and carried him to the Wabash, where he was some time later purchased for $100 by Isaac Zane. Hendricks worked for Zane until he had repaid

last year by the Shawenese at Kentuck, when a boiling salt, and some time after had made his Escape, but was retaken by the Mingoes, and now brought by them to fight against Fort Laurens, came to see us in our house, He informs us that the Nations, Wyandotts, Shawenese, and Mingoes, are not at all enclined for peace, that they say they have almost done with the Virginians, that they were well informed by the Governor, that the King of England had killed most of them, and that if they, the Indians kept in a little longer, they would soon be done with the remainder of them, he further says that the Indians mock at the Virginians, pretending to Come in their Country to fight them, and say they dare not come, and that they are Fools in thinking they Could frighten them. We likewise learn by s[d] Prisoner that it is a Certain fact, that the Governor has been gone already this long time to take the Fort at the Ohio falls, and then proceed to fort Pitt, that the greatest part of the Inhabitants at Detroit, Wish the Americans might Come whilst he is absent, he having most of the Men with him, and that the other party give it almost up, as they believe they will all fall a prey to the Americans before long. that Alex[r] M[c]Kee & Matthew Elliot[1] were with the Governor. that Simon Girty was gone to Detroit to fetch Amunition for the Warriors, but seemed to be very low spirited, the Prisoner has most of his friends living in Penn[a] he Cannot Content himself with the savages, and says it is the Case with numbers of others Prisoners he thought of making his escape at Fort Laurens but was Closely watched. This Evening we hear that the Shawenese after long Councelling at Coochacking, have come to a Conclusion of makeing peace with the states, although we wish it to be true, yet we cannot Conceive how they Could alter their minds so quickly, we having heard them so much to the Contrary within these few days, We are of opinion that no firm peace Can be settled as long as Detroit is not taken, the place from which all evil springs, and even the Enemy themselves say that when they see the Americans take Detroit, they then will believe they have Conquered King George, but no sooner. The Snake[2] has made

his purchase price, and was then allowed to return to Kentucky with Capt. Abraham Chapline. They warned the settlements in 1780 of Bird's expedition. In 1786 Hendricks removed to Illinois, dying there, Nov. 27, 1799. This information is found in Draper Mss., 24C159–60.

[1] For this Loyalist see *Frontier Defense*, 249, note 5.

[2] Snake, Captain Snake, or Blacksnake, a Shawnee chief whose Indian name was Sheminetoo, had at the time of Dunmore's War a village on the Muskingum.

one speech already to Mr Conner[1] and family & wants to take them away, how the matter will end we know not at present, however we shall do all [in] our power to prevent his doing it. There are now several parties over the big River for Mischief. I expect in a few days a letter from Alex^r^ M^c^Cormick,[2] if so I will communicate it to you, we have sent lately, the King of Frances Declaration to all the French in Canada, over to Detroit as I did not Care to send the whole news paper, I Cut only this out of it, & to M^r^ M^c^Cormick I had wrote all the good news, we had from down the Country. I hear the french at Detroit are working strongly already (but privately) [by] the Indians to join the states and forsake their former Master, the Mingoes now here seem to join the Shawenese in that which they have concluded, hope to save themselves by Creeping under the same, but we hope they will be Considered as the Ringleaders to mischief, the Prisoner just now tells me that a few days before they left home

Later he removed farther west, and in 1833 migrated to Missouri where he died near the mouth of the Kansas River at a very advanced age. He was a mischievous, bloodthirsty chief, always opposed to peace.

[1] Richard Conner was from Maryland, whence he came west as a hunter and trapper; while among the Shawnee he met a white captive, Mary Myers, whom he purchased from the Indians for $200 and married. The agreement with the Shawnee stipulated that their first child was to remain among the Indians. After Dunmore's War the Conners were released from captivity and settled near Pittsburgh. In 1775, going back to ransom their son James from the Indians, they visited the Moravian missionaries and determined to go to live among them. They became faithful members of the wilderness church, were removed to Michigan with the mission Indians in 1781, and settled in 1784 on Clinton River near the present site of Mount Clemens. When the Moravians removed from this place the Conners remained, becoming the first white settlers of St. Clair County, Mich. They were granted a section of land upon which Richard died in 1808. The sons became noted interpreters and scouts in the War of 1812.

[2] Alexander McCormick was an Irishman who had been a trader at Fort Pitt and in the Indian country for some time before the Revolution. In 1777 he had a trading house at Half King's village near Upper Sandusky, and was very friendly to the Moravian missionaries, on several occasions protecting them from insult and injury. In 1780 McCormick took part in the expedition to Kentucky under Capt. Henry Bird. About 1785 he married Elizabeth Turner, an Indian captive, and settled at the foot of the rapids of the Maumee River on the ground where Wayne's battle of Fallen Timbers was later fought. After this event he removed to western Ontario and died in 1803 at Colchester. Possessed of a humane temperament, he rescued many captives from the Indians. His place on the Maumee was a well-known trading site. See Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1914, 215. Dr. Draper interviewed McCormick's surviving son in 1863. Draper Mss., 17S201.

about 100 of the Shawonese went of[f] to join the Governor at the falls, and reckons that he has now about 300 Indians with him, this seems to be a matter which they take great notice of, and for which reason they cannot determine to make peace, th'o they fain would the Virginians should think they are inclined for peace, till they saw a little farther, and what success the Governor would meet with. We wish now that the Boats, th'o under a strong guard were in the River as it is likely there may be nothing to disturb them for some days as the Warriors all talk of going home at this time, we likewise think now would be a fine time to march a reinforcement to Fort Laurens. There are 3 parties out a watching the road between your 2 Garrisons, but not many in numbers, the first party Consisting only of 4. the 2^{d} of 6 and the third of about 8 or [10.] yesterday a party of 10 belonging to these Warriors here stole away privately, and [are] gone towards wheeling.

This Sir, is all I have to write at present. Mrs Zeizberger & Edwards present their Compliments to you, & also your most humble Servt

JOHN HACKENWELDER[1]

I send this by Samuel Moore, a good and trusty Man belonging to our society. I likewise have desired him to try to get a pound or two of Tea and some pounds of Coffee, for us, as we have been out this long time, and as his business is no farther [than] Bever Creek, and to that Coll Morgan, not at Fort Pitt, we thought to apply to Coll Brodhead for the same, promising to pay for it in skins or furs, by the first safe opportunity. I leave it entirely to you Sir, to whom you choose to Communicate this letter, all I request is not to let an Indian know a word of what I wrote they being so dubious of our writing, that which they do not Choose to tell you, hence we have suffered greatly by our writings—

JOHN HACKENWELDER

[1] The original spelling of the name appears to have been Hackenwelder. The descendants modified it to Heckewelder, the form commonly known and used in publishing the writings of the missionary. In Draper Mss. there are several letters from the missionary's daughter signed "Mary Heckewelder."

[Capt. John Killbuck to Gen. Lachlan McIntosh. 1H41–43. In handwriting of John Heckewelder.]

COOSHACKING March 13th, 1779

BROTHER M°INTOSH:

When I had heard some days ago that a large body of Warriors were going up the Tuscarawas to take that Garrison, I immediately sent some of my wise Men to meet them, in order to stop them from doing any mischief. These Men with the help of those whom I had sent to that post some time ago, had after much trouble and by frequent Speeches to them the good luck in turning said Warriors back again.

Brother: When these Warriors consisting chiefly of Shawnese, Wyondottes, and Mingoes, had returned, and were Come to Cooshocking, I with the help of my Councellors made frequent speeches to them, in hopes of Convincing them of the danger they were bringing upon themselves by not receiving the Friendship which had so often been offere'd to them by the 13. United States. I explained further unto them the great friendship which had been made between the King of France and the States, and at last got an answer from them, which I now send unto you.

Brother: I desire you may not depend too much on the answer they have given me, and neglect that what you are about to do. I rejoice that I have been so lucky in opening your road for the present, and therefore desire you to take notice of this opportunity.

Brother: I now expect every day my Messengers which I had sent some time ago with good news and speeches over the lake to the great Wyondotts Chief there. I likewise have sent the King of France's speech to all his Friends, and Countrymen in America, along with my Speeches there. I also have sent a spy to Sandusky to find out what is going on this side the lake, and as soon as these my Messengers return again, I will inform you of all these news they bring.

Brother: There are three parties of Warriors, between Fort Laurens and Fort M°Intosh, watching the road, the one of 4, the other 6 and the third of about 8 or 10 Men. There are likewise several parties over the big River [Ohio] for mischief.

Brother: You see now how I have our Friendship at heart, I shall never be weary of working that which is good, and is of Service to us both in any measure. This is and always shall be my chief Study.

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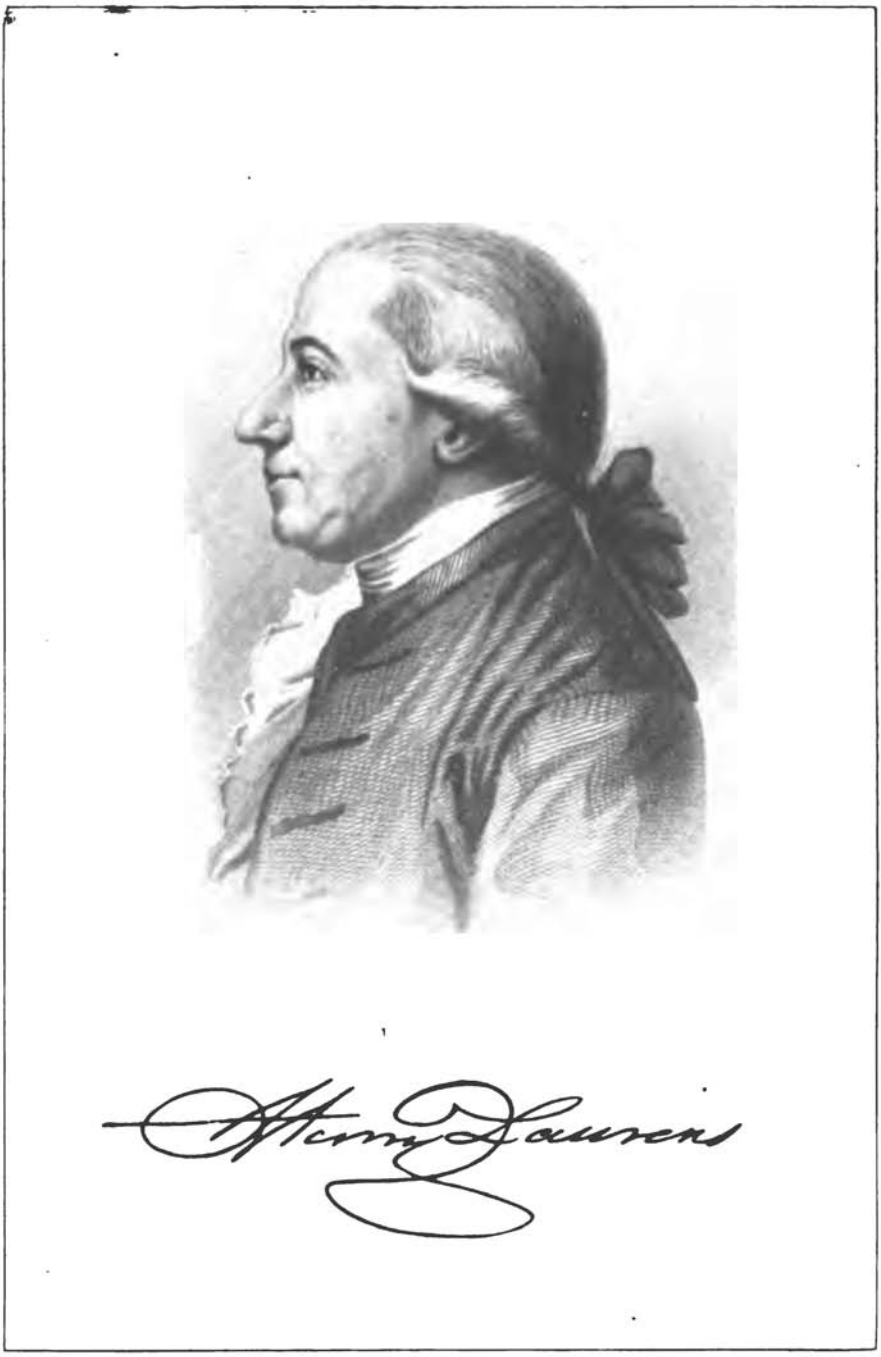

From Portrait in Moore, *Correspondence of Henry Laurens*

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Brother: You may depend on it that I shall set of for Fort Pitt in a few days, when We will be able to Consider matters further.

I am your loving Brother

JOHN KILLBUCK

[Gen. Lachlan McIntosh to Hon. Henry Laurens. 2E107. Transcript.][1]

FORT PITT, 13th March, 1779

DEAR SIR:

As I had the honor of writing to you jointly with Mr Drayton[2] and the other delegates of your State, by a Col. John Campbell of this place the 28th of January, inclosing a packet for the President of Congress, in which I thought my reputation deeply concerned, & for that reason as well as the bearer of it, could wish you had been kind enough in a few lines by Col. Baynton[3] to have only acknowledged the receipt thereof.

I expected to have set off for Philadelphia before this time, but wishing to leave this Department in as good order as possible, and having some disagreeable intelligence, and unexpectedly, from Fort Laurens, determined me to wait the event, the particulars of which I have given to his Excellency Genl Washington.

That garrison, so important to the Department, was unfortunately left short of provisions through the neglect of our Staff, which by some means the Indians must have been made acquainted with. When I got flour over the mountains, the height of the waters, and scarcity of horses & forage, without which they cannot live this season, obliged me to attempt sending a supply by water up the Muskingum, under the direction of Major

[1] The manuscript is endorsed: "From the original in S. C. Hist. Society copied Charleston, June 24, 1871. L. C. D."

[2] William Henry Drayton was born at Drayton Hall, S. C. (1742), educated at Balliol College, Oxford, and appointed by the king, councillor for the province. At first opposed to the patriot cause, he later embraced it with ardor, became chairman of the South Carolina Committee of Safety, president of the Provincial Council, and chief justice of the state. Elected to Congress he took his seat in March, 1779, but died in Philadelphia, in September of the same year.

[3] Col. John Baynton of Philadelphia, member of the trading firm of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, which had operated in Illinois before the Revolution, was for three years deputy paymaster for the western troops. See *Pa. Archives*, 2nd ser., III, 302–3. His sister Mary was the wife of Col. George Morgan.

Taylor. After he was gone, was informed by express from Col[o] Gibson, which he slipt out of his Fort in the night, that on the 23[d] February he sent out a waggoner for the horses and 18 men to guard them, who were all killed & scalped in their sight, and the express left the Fort besieged and invested by a great number of Wyandotts, Chippewas, Delawares, &c which gave me infinite concern on account of Taylor as well as Gibson, being out of my power to help either of them—and to add to it, all the discontented joined immediately in condemning the executing it, as much as they approved of it before, and particularly that poor Taylor was designedly sacrificed. And as he had 100 men with him & 200 Kegs of flour, which was all I had to spare, I had no other alternative left than calling on the militia for men, horses, forage & provision, but was at a loss in what manner. To press horses, &c would displease them, and give our staff a handle. To wait the tedious formality of draughting the men, &c. as their laws direct, would take up too much time, and be too late for Gibson's necessity. Therefore I earnestly entreated the Lieutenants of the several counties to get as many men as they could voluntarily, with all the horses, provisions, & forage they could bring, at any price, and to be at Beaver Creek on Monday, the 15th instant, without fail, as later would be needless. I put them in mind of their continual boasts & desire of seeing the enemy, who had repeatedly done them so much mischief to be revenged; that we could have no other chance of them equal to their being thus collected together, and would be far better to attack them in their own country than suffer them to come into our settlements. I urged the importance of Fort Laurens as a bridle to keep the Savages in their own country, as well as to facilitate our future operations. If they succeeded in taking, or they obliged us to evacuate it, they would impute it to our weakness, and unite to a man in routing all the inhabitants upon this side of the Mountains; and if we turned out cheerfully for once on this occasion to give them a scourging, and disappoint their first attempt, our business would be done at one stroke, the savages would see our superiority, and be obliged to treat on our own terms, or remain on the other side of the Lakes, and leave all on this side to ourselves, as their towns would be exposed at all times to excursions from Fort Laurens.

I am informed from the country all these arguments will not prevail, nor the loss of so many of our brave country men, who

suffer for the protection of this very people themselves. If it is so, I must attempt at all events with the few Continental troops I can make out, to save our brethren and fellow citizens, if I should be obliged for want of assistance or provision to evacuate that post.

Happily Major Taylor is returned here with 100 men & 200 kegs of flour after a fruitless attempt to go up Muskingum river, & losing two men killed and scalped in his sight, who were flanking him upon that river. The want of time now prevents my being more particular.

I am lately informed my own country, all my family, and every thing of property I have in the world, are now in the hands of the enemy.[1] I am exceedingly unhappy not to hear any thing from them. Desire to be there. * * *

LACH[N] MCINTOSH

HON HENRY LAURENS, Philad[a]

THE BRITISH REPORT

[Capt. Henry Bird to Capt. Richard B. Lernoult. 58J19–20. Contemporary transcript.][2]

[March 12, 1779]

DEAR SIR:

Tho' the situation I am in deprives me of power to detain the vessel, yet it appearing necessary for your information, and the good of the service that I should do it in the present case, I have taken upon me that authority that Oruntundes and the Chiefs

[1] The British were active in Georgia in 1778 and 1779. Col. Augustin Prevost sent from Florida a force that overran eastern Georgia, and captured Savannah.

[2] This letter has been printed in *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, I, 427, and in *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, X, 333–34, in neither instance correctly. The date of the letter is in doubt; the internal evidence seems to make it, Mar. 12, 1779. The place from which it was written was Sandusky, probably the village of Half King. In the council with the Indians, Feb. 7 (see *ante*, 220), Orontondy asked Captain Lernoult to accompany the Indian forces, or send a white chief to go with them. Capt. Henry Bird, then at Detroit, volunteered for this service and went as far as Sandusky where he remained until the latter part of June. See *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, X, 310, XIX, 405; *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 108. It has been assumed that Captain Bird was with the Indians at the siege of Fort Laurens. However, it would appear that he remained at Sandusky, directing the raids, and watching to prevent the anticipated American march against Detroit.

request who are returned from war, and by the message sent (by one of their Chiefs) to me, they seem to have something of importance to communicate, or resolve upon. They promised positively to be here on the 11th. Captain Graham[1] has been so anxious to return ever since the first day of his arrival, that its with the utmost difficulty I have prevailed with him to remain.

13th March. The Chiefs arrived yesterday. The Rebels have considerably reinforced the Fort at Tuscarawas. The savages are very uneasy: would fain counsel. I refused to have anything to do with the affair, and begged they would send their determination to you, which they conclude to do. Knives, Flints, Fuzees, and Tomahawks are wanting.

H. BIRD.[2]

To CAPTAIN LERNAULT, Commandant of Detroit.

QUALITIES OF A WESTERN COMMANDANT

[Gouverneur Morris to Gen. George Washington. Washington Papers. A. L. S.]

PHILA: 14th March 1779.

D[r] GENERAL:

You will excuse in me the Liberty I have taken in requesting Col° Morgan to call on you. That Gentleman can give you much and important Information relative to the State of our Western Frontiers. From the first View of the Commander of that Department in York Town he struck me as one of those who excel

[1] Capt. James Graham of the British naval forces upon the Lakes. In January, 1779, he was in command of the schooner "Hope"; probably this was the vessel to which Bird refers.

[2] Henry Bird was a British officer who was said to have been of American ancestry. He was commissioned lieutenant in 1764, and soon entered the Eighth or King's Regiment which in 1768 was ordered to Canada. He took part in the affair at the Cedars in 1776, and was on the Oriskany campaign the next year. He arrived at Detroit with reënforcements in October, 1778. As an engineer he assisted in erecting the new fort, then went out to Sandusky where he remained about six months. In 1780 Bird headed a British-Indian raid into Kentucky, bringing off the inhabitants of Martin and Ruddell's stations. Upon the close of the Revolution he settled on a land grant on the site of Amherstburgh, Ontario, but in 1784 was summoned to England on legal business and never returned. He made his home in Monmouthshire, near Usk; during the Napoleonic wars he reëntered the army as lieutenant-colonel of the Fifty-fourth Infantry, and died in 1800 during an expedition to Egypt.

in the Regularity of still Life from the Possession of an indolent uniformity of soul. The little Eagerness he shewed to go thence when every Thing almost depended on Vivacity gave no good Omen of his success. I observed in silence & untill this moment no one hath known any Reflections I then made and perhaps I am even at this Moment very much deceived. When I heard of some Proceedings in the Department I ventured to say aloud that no Good would follow from the Exertions of the Army under his Command. Unfortunately I have not been mistaken. I have Reason to believe that his Recall hath become necessary from a variety of Causes. For a successor I think you will be puzzled. Good Sense Genius Activity and a Habit of Business These are qualities which appear to me better adapted to this Office than all the military science in all the military Books put together. Excuse one more observation. It is that the Reason why a good Partizan Officer is so rare a Thing among regular Soldiers may be deduced from this that in order to become such a Man must unlearn all that he has learnt or the greater Part of it which few have good sense enough to do. One good Mohawk would on such occasion do more with one hundred men than Prince Ferdinand with a thousand or Braddock with ten thousand. I must here again beg your Pardon for intermeddling with things out of my Line and beyond my reach. But you will I am sure excuse me for thinking loud to you upon a subject which presses itself upon my sensibilities, especially when I assure you what I believe you will know that such Liberties with you arise from personal Confidence & Esteem. I believe it is unnecessary for me to say that Col° Morgan is a Man of Honor and Truth as he is of your acquaintance but as you may not know him so well as to know how much he may be relied on permit me to assure you that I have the highest Reason to believe that you cannot derive Information from a more certain source or thro a surer Channell Adieu. My Regards to Mrs Washington who I am told has no great opinion of me as a Christian Priest and yet I am sure we are of the same Religion expressed in the one Word Benevolence

Yours

GOUV^R^ MORRIS[1]

[1] Gouverneur Morris was born at Morrisania, N. Y., Jan. 31, 1752; at the age of sixteen he graduated from King's College (now Columbia University) and in 1771 was admitted to the bar. He drafted the first state constitution for New York, and served in the Continental Congress from 1776 to 1780. In 1781 he became assistant manager of finances. He was a member of the Con-

DELAWARE CHIEF DISCOURAGED

[Capt. John Killbuck to Gen. Lachlan McIntosh. 1H45–46. In handwriting of John Heckewelder.]

COOSHACKING March 15th 1779

DEAR BROTHER M°INTOSH:

I am drove by necessity to say some thing to you. I had told you above a year and a half ago at Fort Pitt, that I had done all I Could in speaking to the nations, that they would not listen to me at all, and therefore desire you to Come out yourself and speak to them. A year ago I told you again by Captn White Eyes, that I Could not do any thing, the Nations not listening to me. I therefore give it quite up unto you, desiring you again to Come out yourself, and try what you Could do.

Brother: I now tell you again I am quite discouraged I see I Can do nothing at all.

Brother: It is now past 2 years that you told me you was quite ready, and held your Horse by the Bridle, with one foot in the Stirrup, and your Gun on your Shoulder, ready to mount the same, the first murder that was Committed, in order to pursue the Enemy.

Now *Brother:* I am sorry to tell you, that as this has been made known to the Nations, and they finding nothing that has been done by you all this time, mock, and make all the Game of me they Can, they try all they Can to disturb, and Convince my People that you are telling them, that which is not true, pointing to your not having fulfille'd your promise, and saying you were not able to do it, there being but a very few of you.

Brother: This makes me indeed much trouble, and disturbs my People greatly, thinking they might perhaps be really disappointed at last. Many have left me since last Fall for this Reason, and I dread very much the future Consequence's.

Brother: All I Can do at present is to take care of myself, (my People) therefore—

Brother: I desire you to Consider, of what I now say unto you, spare no time, but do what you intend to do, the sooner the Better.

I am Your loving Brother

CAPTn JOHN KILLBUCK

stitutional Convention of 1787, minister to France from 1791–94, and senator from New York from 1800–1803. He died at his birthplace on Nov. 6, 1816.

[Speeches at Council. Enclosed in preceding letter. 1H44.]

The following is the answer of the Warriors, Shawanose, Wyondotts and Mingoes, to the Delaware Councel of Cooshacking, in Consideration of Speeches made by the latter to the former. The Shawonse speaking in the name of all present say:

GRANDFATHERS, THE DELAWARES:

You told me yesterday that all your Business was to work that which is good, and that you was in good friendship with the 13 United States, and that your whole Study was to preserve that friendship you had fast hold of. You spoke to me on the road, when I was going to fight the Virginians at Tuscarawas, you turned me back, told me to go home to my Women and Children, and Consider them, and that what would be good for them,

Now *my Grandfather:* I tell you I have heard you; and take your words home with me, I will Carry all what you have said to me home in my hand, and when I Come to my Chiefs, I shall open my hand unto them, and deliver your words to them to Consider about it. And further says the Head Warrior of the Shawnese

Grandfather: hear what you Grand Children say unto you. We are very glad of what you told Us yesterday, We have now Chosen our oldest Brother Nehmhaw to go along with us to our main Town, the place where all the Heads of the Nations gather, to Consider such matters; there He will help us in delivering these Speeches, which you have made to Us, and further help and do what he Can.

4 Strings of White Wampum,

Now *Grandfather:* You told me likewise, that you was going to the great Councel of the thirteen United States. I therefore trust in the great God that he will help you, that you may Come back again, when I shall hear what these great Men have spoke to you.

FORT LAURENS RELIEVED

[Gen. Lachlan McIntosh to Gen. George Washington. 15S180–82. Transcript.]

FORT M^{c}INTOSH, 19th March 1779

SIR:

I am just setting off for Fort Laurens with about two hundred men I have collected of the militia, and better than 300 Continental troops from this garrison and Fort Pitt, but unfortunately have not collected horses enough to carry the quantity of provision I intended or would be necessary, and as the time will not admit of an hour's delay to wait for any more, I consulted the principal men from each county, with all the field officers, who are unanimously of opinion that Fort Laurens is a post of such consequence, that it should not be evacuated by any means, if it can possibly be kept, and that it may be defended by 100 men, if provision cannot be carried for more. And indeed we are scarce enough of it here—not above one month's provisions this side of the mountains. The difficulty of getting it over, and the distance of carriage, is the grand objection to every enterprise from this quarter.

I have thought it necessary to leave Col. Brodhead on that account here, and use every exertion in getting further supplies soon Maj^{r} Taylor also is ordered down the country for the same purpose, and to hurry the staff departments, lest they disappoint us, and nothing can be had on this side.

I had some intelligence last night from Cooshocking, which I have desired the Colonel to give you the particulars of, as I have not time. It appears the Savages are all combined against us.

I have the honor &c

LACH^{n} M^{c}INTOSH, B. G.

[Recollections of Benjamin Biggs.[1] 2S43–45.]

Was at F^{t} Laurens. He wished permission to go out with a party to get some horses the Indians had stolen, this Gibson per-

[1] Benjamin Biggs was born in Maryland in 1754. His family first removed to the Glades, then to the site of Uniontown, and finally (1774) to Short Creek, Ohio County, Va. His first military service was under Dunmore in 1774; in

emptorily refused. "No, sir, attend to your command, when I want you I will tell you so." A party did go out—16 in all—they heard what they thought were the bells in the bushes; were thus decoyed by the Indians, and all, save one cut off. * * * The siege lasted some 4 weeks, provisions exhausted; finally for 3 or 4 days had to live on *half* a biscuit a day—then the last two days washed their moccasons and broiled them for food, and broiled strips of old dried hides. Two of the men in the fort stole out and killed a deer; and when they returned with it, it was devoured in a few minutes, some not waiting to cook it. At length, the Indians left, and a convoy of packhorses arrived, guns fired for joy, horses scared, and run off scattering flour &c. This was gathered, and so incautious were many of the men that several made themselves sick with overloading their weak stomachs, and 3 died in consequence. This supply came from Fort M°Intosh.

[Recollections of Henry Jolly. 6NN25.]

I was with Gen[l] M°Intosh when he went out with the relief to Co[l] Gibson. I was an eye witness to the distruction of the provisions, when Gen[l] McIntosh arrived in view of the fort, It was late in the evening, when it happened, a great part of the flour was lost, a considerable part of next day was spent hunting horses, and the day following the troops Marched for fort M°Intosh, Maj[r] Vernon left to command the fort, about the first of June he was relieved by Lieut Co[l] Campbell of the virginia line, on the first or second of August, the Garrison was evacuated. I was one of the last that left it, we arrived at fort Pitt on the seventh.

1776 Biggs was commissioned first lieutenant of the Thirteenth Virginia, and in 1778 was raised to a captaincy. In February, 1781 he was transferred to the Seventh Virginia, and served on the western frontier until the close of the Revolution. During the Indian wars he held important offices under Virginia—first colonel, then (1793) brigadier-general of the militia. He was also a member of the state legislature, and a justice of the peace. He died at his home in West Liberty, Dec. 2, 1823. The incident of his career narrated herein was related to Dr. Draper in 1845, by his widow, Mrs. Priscilla Biggs.

[Recollections of Jacob White. 3S323.]

The Indians fired on the fort, did no injury—'twas said Simon Girty commanded them. Thinks Gibson sent off a trusty messenger in the night, and got to the settlements and gave intelligence. Col. Brodhead was then at F^t^ M^c^Intosh, sent to Col^o^ Stinson [Stevenson] and Marshall[1] no time was lost, Marshall sent some of his reg^t^ (did not go himself). Col. Stinson [went] with his men, Capt. White and his company along, rendezvoused at F^t^ M^c^Intosh; and Col^o^ Brodhead[2] and Stinson at the head of some 800 men marched to the relief of F^t^ Laurens. Ind^s^ all gone.

INDIAN REPORTS

[John Heckewelder to Col. John Gibson. 15S157–59. Transcript.]

COSHOCKING, March 19th 1779.

Some Shawanese who came up here yesterday say that it is a fact that the Governor of Detroit has taken a Fort, which according to their description lies between the Falls of the Ohio and Detroit:[3] That Moses Henry is taken with his wife[4] prisoner by

[1] Col. James Marshel was born in Ireland in 1753. He removed some time between 1776 and 1778 to what is now Washington County, and bought up large amounts of land in Cross Creek Township. Upon the organization of Washington County he was appointed (1781) county lieutenant, an office which he resigned three years later. He served as sheriff from 1784 to 1789, was a member of the state legislature, and recorder of the land office. He took a prominent part in the Whisky Rebellion but submitted to the government at its close. About this time he removed to Brooke County, Va., where he died in 1829.

[2] Captain White's recollections are at fault in this regard. Brodhead remained at Fort McIntosh, while General McIntosh led the relief party.

[3] The reference is to Gov. Henry Hamilton's occupation of Vincennes. The news of his capture by Clark had not yet reached the Muskingum.

[4] Moses Henry was a resident of Vincennes when it first submitted to Clark (1778). He was suspected by Governor Hamilton of being an American sympathizer, arrested, and confined in the fort. His wife, under pretense of bringing in food, conveyed to Henry the news of Clark's approach. Upon the latter's success, Henry was made Indian agent, and accompanied the expedition up the Wabash that captured the British convoy. In 1781 he was still a resident of Vincennes where he died some time before 1790, leaving a widow and children. His land, confirmed under a British grant, was secured to his heirs. See *American State Papers, Public Lands* (Washington, 1832–61), I, 7–8.

the Shawanese, and robbed of every thing he had: That Matthew Elliott who had been sent by the Governor to view how the Fort at Ohio Falls lay, had brought in his account of the same, to which the Governor is now gone with 400 Indians and several pieces of cannon.[1] That Matthew Elliott is now at the Shawanese towns, where he has a large store of goods. That the Shawanese understood by a letter that was taken, that Robbin George was coming up the Big River with a hundred men and about seventy horse load of goods,[2] and that therefore a hundred Indians were gone off to watch and take his goods from him. That the White Fish[3] is gone with some of his men to meet the Governor.

A prisoner by the name of George Hendricks, who was taken above a year ago at the Salt Licks with Cap[n] Boone, but afterwards made his escape and was taken again by the Mingoes, was forced along with the warriors to fight against your garrison: He thought to make his escape there, but was closely watched; but says if they take him along the next time, he will give them the slip. I told him to try to get inside of the pickets that run from the Fort to the river, where he would be quite out of sight of the Indians, and might speak to you.

M[r] Connor desires you to inform the Taylor at your garrison, who was here lately with M[r] Sample, that he has certain account that his daughter is living, and adopted in the family of Logan[4] as his Sister, where she is much thought of. Snake thought at first of taking M[r] Connor and family away, but is quite put out of it; He says he will never make peace with the Virginians, and they seem all to be of that mind. Since the English see that their

[1] This information was, of course, incorrect. Hamilton had not left Vincennes when he was captured by Clark, Feb. 24, 1779.

[2] Robert (Robbin) George is believed to have been a cousin of Gen. George Rogers Clark. George was in the West as a trader as early as 1774. In 1778 he enlisted under James Willing for the southwestern expedition. In the early part of 1779, Willing sent him with forty men up the Mississippi to join Clark. George arrived in Kaskaskia while Clark was still at Vincennes. In August, 1779 Brodhead ordered George to return to Fort Pitt, but as he had enlisted in the service of Virginia he claimed the right to remain with Clark. George was a captain of artillery, and very useful to Clark. In 1780–81 he was in command at Fort Jefferson, and remained in the West throughout the war. He settled on Clark's grant in Indiana, dying there before 1800.

[3] Whitefish was a Shawnee chief who accompanied Dunmore in 1774. See *Dunmore's War, passim.*

[4] For this chief see *ibid.*, 305, note 21.

giving goods to the Indians at Detroit for to go to war, helps them but little, the most of them contenting themselves with the presents, forgetting they are to do something for them: He has found out now a better way in bringing the goods to this side of the Lake, where he [the British] will be nearer the place the stroke is to be made, as also to know better who will fight, and who will not.[1]

[Col. Daniel Brodhead to Pres. Joseph Reed. *Pa. Archives*, 2nd. ser., III, 283–84. Transcript.][2]

FORT MCINTOSH, March 20th, 1779.

DEAR SIR:

As I Conceive it to be for the Interest of this Extensive & Fertile part of America that you should be made acquainted with the intelligence we have rec'd respecting the Designs of the Enemy, I here enclose you Copies of sundry letters received from our Friends at Coochacking. Those addressed to General McIntosh were enclosed to him and me jointly; that from Mr. Hackenwalder was sent to me in the pad of a Moravian Indian saddle. It must be Confessed that those good People at Coochacking have render'd the States much real service, but from the Tenor of their letters they seem to be dispirited. I wish, therefore, to have them encouraged by carrying on an early Campaign into the enemies' Country, (the only effectual method to Cover them and our settlements from the enemy), and at the same time think it would have a salutary effect, were the Legislative Bodies of the States of Pennsylvania & Virginia to send them a small present of Cloathing, of which they appear to be in great want.

I am very sensible that nothing in your power will be wanting to support the Army here, and I need not mention how essentially necessary it is to provide for the protection of the Frontiers of Westmoreland County, &c.

It is some time since I applied to the Board of War for a supply of Cloathing for my Regiment, and Coll. Bayard informs me that

[1] This seems to refer to the establishment of Capt. Henry Bird at Sandusky, and his dealings with the tribesmen who were being urged to war.

[2] This letter, of which but an extract is given in Draper Mss., 15S149–50, appears so important to our purpose that we reprint it entire from *Pa. Archives*, 2nd ser., III, 283–84.

I am to rely on a supply which was lately purchased in Virg'a. I am not Ignorant of that supply; it Consists only of a Quantity of Cloth, but neither linen, thread, shoes or stockings are provided, nor Taylors engaged to make up the Cloathing, were the means furnished. In the mean time, my Men are barefooted, and very little service can be expected from them until they are supplied. I shall, therefore, be much obliged to you for interesting your self in favor of my Regiment, and preventing the ill Consequences that must attend so great a neglect. We have only one Month's provision at the different Posts.

I have the honor to be, With the sincerest regard and Esteem, Dear Sir, Your most Obed't Serv't,

DANIEL BRODHEAD, Colo. 8th P. Reg't.

P. S. —Shoes sent for this department ought to be of the best kind. D. B.

Gen'l McIntosh, with near 600 Men, is gone to throw a small supply of Provisions into Fort Laurens, which has lately been twice besieged by the Indians.

D. B.

HIS EXCELLENCY, JOSEPH REED, Esq'r, Gov'or of the State of Pennsylvania.[1]

QUALIFICATIONS OF McINTOSH

[Extract of a letter from Gen. George Washington to Gouverneur Morris. Reprinted from *Magazine of American History*, III, 132.]

MIDDLEBROOK March 20th, 1779

DEAR SIR:

I have received your favour of the 14th Inst by Colo Morgan, and have had a good deal of conversation with him respecting our affairs to the Westward.

[1] Gen. Joseph Reed (1741–85), a native of New Jersey, was educated at Princeton, and studied law in London. On his return from the latter city he settled in Philadelphia where he served on the first Committee of Correspondence (1774), and as president of the first provincial Congress of Pennsylvania. In 1776 he became Washington's military secretary, and in June, 1777, adjutant general of the army, resigning therefrom in 1778. Having declined a brigadier-generalship, and the chief-justiceship of his state, he accompanied the army as volunteer aid throughout the campaigns of 1777 and 1778. In the latter year occurred the unsuccessful attempt to attach him by bribe to the British cause.

I wish matters had been more prosperously conducted under the command of Genl McIntosh. This Gentleman was in a manner a stranger to me, but during the time of his residence at Valley forge I had imbibed a good opinion of his good sense—attention to duty, and disposition to correct public abuses, qualifications much to be valued in a separate & distant command.

ADVANCE MOVEMENT IMPORTANT

[Col. Daniel Brodhead to Gen. George Washington. Washington Papers. A. L. S.]

FORT M°INTOSH March 21st 1779

DEAR GENERAL:

Inclosed are several Letters from our Friends at Coochocking. Those from Killbuck were directed to Genl M°Intosh and myself but that from Mr Heckenwelder was sent me in the pad of a Moravian Indian's Saddle.[1]

The Mingoes Wyondats Muncies Shawnese & a few of the Delawares who live with the Wyondats have lately made two attempts on Fort Laurens—Unfortunately in the first a Sergeant & seventeen Men who were sent out to drive in some Horses were killed, except two, who are Prisoners.

In the present humour of the Savages, it is clear that the Inhabitants will soon be great sufferers—Many of them have already sent away great part of their Effects & the generality of them are in great dread & Fear. Therefore unless an early Movement into the Enemies Country can take place, this Fertile Country will soon be depopulated and we have at present scarcely one Months Provisions on this side the Mountains to subsist the Garrisons.

A number of light Field Pieces are greatly wanting in this Department and I could wish to see a great number of light Swivels brought up for the Protection of our Magazines, which from the

In December he was elected president of the executive council of Pennsylvania, which office he held for three years. His relations with Washington were of a friendly and confidential nature. His early death was attributed to the fatigues and responsibilities of his tasks.

[1] These are the letters of March 12 and 13, printed *ante*, 242–49.

nature of the Service here, must soon be greatly increased in number.

Should Detroit be the Object (which is my wish, Because it is the source of all the Calamities the Inhabitants suffer) I apprehend three or four eight inch Howitzers would be of excellent use in the Reduction of that as well as of Niagara.

I Beg your Excellency will pardon the Liberty I have taken in giving my opinion unaskt

General M°Intosh has Marched to Fort Laurans his Letter to your Excellency accompanies this and will inform you why he is gone.

With the most perfect Regard & Esteem I have the Honor to be your Excellencies most Obed^{t} Hble Servt

DANIEL BRODHEAD Col° 8th P. Reg^{t}

HIS EXCELL^{Y} GEN^{L} WASHINGTON.

[Summary of a letter of Gen. George Washington, Headquarters, Middlebrook, Mar. 22, 1779, to Col. Daniel Brodhead. Printed in Ford, *Writings of Washington*, VII, 372–75.]

Last letter written the 5th instant. Colonel Rawlings with three companies is ordered to Fort Pitt. Posts are to be established at Kittanning and Venango. Gibson is ordered to be secretly withdrawn from Tuscarawas. Small garrisons to be left at the Ohio posts. The destination of the expedition must be kept secret. Indian allies are to be engaged, and when ready to move they are to be informed that the country of the Six Nations is to be devastated. Participation in the Virginia-Pennsylvania boundary dispute is to be avoided.

NEW ATTACKS ON FORT LAURENS

[Maj. Frederick Vernon to Gen. Lachlan McIntosh. 15S159–60. Transcript.]

FORT LAURENS, 28th March, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL:

This morning I sent out a party of about forty men commanded by Ensigns Wiatt and Clark[1] to bring in wood for the

[1] Ensign Thomas Wyatt of the Eighth Pennsylvania was raised from a sergeant to a commissioned officer, see *post*, 453. He had been at the battles in

garrison. As Ensign Clark was placing the last centinel, he was fired on by a party of Indians (that lay concealed some small distance beyond where the centinel was placed), they killed him and the centinel, and scalped them, before the party could come to their assistance, as the greatest part of the men had got their loads and were on their way to the Fort. What few men had not got their loads up ran towards the Fort, expecting there was a large party of Indians. When this happened Mr Wiatt had not got up with his party as far as Mr Clark was. I immediately sent out three Indians to make a discovery how large the party was. They returned in a short time, and told me that party was not large, but they had discovered a number of tracks on the point of a ridge some small distance from where the Indians were that did the mischief. From their account, I think there were more parties than one. I got two Indians to go express to Beaver Creek with the intelligence to you as soon as possible.

I am &c FRED^{K} VERNON, Maj^{r} 8th Reg^{t}

BRIGD^{R} GEN. LACH^{N} M^{C}INTOSH.

[Maj. Frederick Vernon to Col. Daniel Brodhead. 15S161–63. Transcript.]

FORT LAURENS, 28th March, 1779

DEAR COLONEL:

This morning I sent out a party of forty men commanded by Ensigns Wyatt and Clark, in order to bring in wood for the garrison. As Ensign Clark was placing the last centinel, he was fired on by a party of Indians (that had concealed themselves behind a log some distance on the outside of the centinel) which killed him and the centinel, and scalped them before any of the party could come to their assistance. The greatest part of the men had picked up their wood, and were on their way to the Fort. What few men had not got their loads of wood, made towards the Fort. I immediately sent out three Indians to make a discovery how large the party was: They returned in a short time, and told me that party was not large, but they had discovered a number of tracks on another point of a ridge, which makes me think there

the East, and had had a shoulder bone broken at Brandywine. In 1780 he became lieutenant, and retired in January, 1781. He made his home at St. Louis where he died in 1834, aged eighty years.

Ensign Clark was probably Thomas Clark of the Thirteenth Virginia.

was more than the one party we saw. I then sent out a party with Capt[n] Brady and Ensign Wyatt to bring in the dead bodies. They went to the place where the Indians sat and found four blankets, two green covers and a long knife lying on the top of a lying tree. There appeared to be about ten Indians in that party.

M[r] H[eckewelder] one of the M[oravian] M[issionaries] was here two days ago, and told me we may depend there will be a large party of Indians and some English, with several pieces of artillery, will pay us a visit in a short time. I would be glad to have two pieces of cannon to exchange a shot with them. Please send me your opinion of it, as I am determined to defend this post while I have one man alive, and able to fight.

I have received a quantity of corn from Cooshocking, but I have not goods that will suit the Indians to satisfy them for bringing it up. I have given a certificate to them for twenty bucks [deer skins], which they expect to be paid to them at Beaver Creek. The bearers of this letter are not paid for their trouble, nor have I set any price with them; they expect pay there also. I am informed that there are several Indian parties out. Some are gone over the Big [Ohio] River to murder the inhabitants, some of the parties are returned back with prisoners and scalps.

I am, dear Colonel, y[r] most obed[t] & hb[le] Serv[t]

FRED[K] VERNON, Maj[r] 8th P. Reg[t]

P. S. The name of the soldier that was killed is Adkins, one of the new levies

To COL. BRODHEAD.

WYANDOT ALLIANCE

[Wyandot Indians to Delawares. 1H47–48. Contemporary transcript.]

FORT M[c]INTOSH, April 1st 1779

A Speech Delivered to the Delawares by the Wyandott's Half King.

The Wyandott says to the Delawares. I am very glad to see you my Nephew's & will come & take hold of your Hands that live at Cooshacking. I am very glad that you are sent here as god woud have it, to put us in remembrance to think of good works. I am very glad to hear that you hold fast to the Chain of Friendship for the Delawares & wyandotts both to be strong. dont

give up to those headstrong people that are going to war now for a small quantity of Goods & if we can succeed in obtaining peace our posterity will reap the benefit of it.

Now *my nephews:* I tell you to build a town in one place & be together & not be like a flock of partridges (when they discover a little Danger) to fly away & where the farthest flies, there remain for some of you are fled beyond my Towns already. if you will all gather together in one Town then you can be strong & be able to make Speeches with a strong Voice. Now my Nephews. I hope you will listen to me & not to the Mingoes at Grind stone Creek[1] they are not good for if you listen to them you will work your own & Childrens Ruin. Likewise those that are unborn. Now my Nephews. I tell you that my Father the English that sets here with me is not good for he wants to work my ruin as well as those Mingoes want to work yours—but be strong in your good works. Now my Nephew's I tell you that he is good for nothing & I will not listen any more to his speeches. for this will never pervail any longer on me. at Night they tell me he is here & in the morning he is gone & no one knows where but I cant find him. it is thought he will make an earnest push very soon & never to return again, likewise the Head of the Mingoes on Grind stone Creek

My Nephews: now listen to me, for I intend to make a speech to my brothers the Virginians.

Now *my Brothers the Virg[a]:* listen to me for I am very glad that I rec[d] your Letter. with it I will go to Detroit & open your speeches there & do Good works among the Nation—when I finish makeing my speeches there I will send an express with a speech which shall be from my Heart. when the Express comes of[f] I will go and gather all the Tomahawks that has been Distributed among the Nations & my own. wheen we meet & consult on matters we shall know how to Distribute them again. Now my Brothers. Dont be in too Great hast but wait with patience. now my Nephews that are sitting at Cooshacking, be strong in your good Works & receive all goodness which is sent you from your Brothers. I tell you that I have chosen one of my Men to come when he is

[1] This band of Mingo, known as Pluggy's, had been hostile from the inception of the Revolution. Their town was situated in the horseshoe bend of Olentangy River (Whetstone or Grindstone Creek), in Troy Township, Delaware County, not far above the present city of Delaware, Ohio.

wanted & after we agree in a Treaty your army may march through without Molestation.

A String of white wampum

[Delaware chiefs to Col. Daniel Brodhead. 1H48. A. D.][1]

To this the Delaware Chiefs subjoined an answer to my Speech as follows

BROTHER:

The times have been troublesome and as we intended going to Philad[a] we determined to answer your talk at this place we now tell you we are not acquainted with the nature of renting Lands But as we are one People you are welcome to make Gardens & fence pastures so long only as the present Troubles last and if you Choose to give us any thing for it we leave it to you if not we shall be satisfied. They requested me to send a Speech to the Wyondats and another to the Shawnese and said the Wyondots would come in & make peace if the Shawnese did not, they had done their Duty & would have done with them.

[Col. Daniel Brodhead to Delaware chiefs. 1H49–50. L. S.]

FORT M[c]INTOSH April 2[d] 1779

Brothers the Chiefs of the Delaware Nation of Coochocking:

I rejoice to see you & speak to you. Listen to me and let my words take deep root in your Minds.

You have Laboured much in a good Work Your Zeal & steady Friendship for the Americans does you the highest Honour And your names will be handed down to posterity as the best & wisest Counsellors of all Nations.

I am rejoiced to hear that the great good Spirit has opened the Eyes of the Wyondat Nation so as to discover to them the false Stories of the Governor of Detroit & other bad Men And will send a Talk to them to encourage them in the good work they are engaged in.

[1] The following document is in the handwriting of Col. Daniel Brodhead and is among the papers secured by Dr. Draper from his descendants.

As you are now going to speak with the great Congress of the American States I do not wish to delay you an hour but shall be glad to see you when you return to Fort Pitt. There is no small pox at Fort Pitt now, and I hope that our Brothers who go down the Country with you will take care to keep you from places where it is—on the road to Philad[a]. I wrote to you sometime ago when I heard Gen[l] M[c]Intosh was gone and am sorry I received no answer from you to my Letter. I hope you did not think it unworthy your Answer.

I told you yesterday that I would go with you to Fort Pitt But as I hear Gen[l] M[c]Intosh is not yet gone there is no occasion for me to go up yet. I will however send some of my Men to take your Father up by Water and I wish you a good Journey.

DANIEL BRODHEAD Col[o] 8th P. Reg[t]

BRITISH REPORT PROPOSED AMERICAN INVASION

[Gen. Henry Clinton to Gen. Frederick Haldimand. 58J33. Transcript.]

April 2[d] 1779.

You may remember that the first return I made to you of the State of affairs, I told you that an expedition was formed to the Westward, which was really the case, under General M[c]Intosh and Colonel Gipson, but by being disappointed of getting on provisions they failed in the attempt, and left the 13th Virginia Regiment, commanded by Colonel Gipson, at a place called Tuscarawas, where they built a Fort, and remain there now, which is on the direct road to Detroit. This expedition of last fall was to have been carried on under the immediate direction of Congress, but lately put into the hands of General Washington, and an expedition is actually forming against that place [Detroit], and, except some unforeseen accident should take place, it will actually go on, as there are 150 carpenters and 200 wood-cutters gone from Pennsylvania for that purpose. From the best information I can get, it would appear that General Scott[1] is to command the expedition, but cannot ascertain the number of men it is to consist of, as I believe it will chiefly be composed of militia from the frontiers of Virginia, Pennsylvania and Maryland, with some Continental

[1] For Gen. Charles Scott see *Frontier Defense*, 213, note 79.

troops: At the same time I learnt from the best information I could get, that a feint would be made upon the Susquehannah to draw the attention of Colonel Butler[1] and the Six Nations of Indians from going to Detroit. But they endeavor to keep a profound secret. The above intelligence I have received, and I think deserves attention. I have endeavoured to communicate the substance of it to Col. Butler[1] and Brandt;[2] if 'tis true, that they have established themselves at Tuskaraws 'tis probably with a further intent of proceeding against Detroit.

I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's &C

H. CLINTON.

HIS EXCELLENCY GEN^{L} HALDIMAND.

FORT LAURENS PROVISIONED

[Gen. Lachlan McIntosh to Gen. George Washington. 15S154–56. Transcript.]

FORT PITT, 3^{d} April, 1779.

SIR:

Since I had the honor of writing to your Excellency the 19th March, I received your letter of the 5th of that month just as I returned from Fort Laurens to Beaver with the inclosures which I delivered immediately to Col. Brodhead.

My intention when I set off was, if the Indians did not meet us at Tuscarawas, to proceed to Sandusky and destroy the Wyandott

[1] For Col. John Butler, New York Loyalist, see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 152, note 67.

[2] Joseph Brant was a Mohawk Indian, born on the banks of the Ohio about the year 1742. He was present at several engagements during the French and Indian War. In 1761 he was sent to Wheelock's Indian school at Lebanon, Conn., where he made considerable progress during his two-year sojourn. In 1764 he was employed as a scout on the frontier against the hostile Delawares. Thereafter for ten years he lived quietly in central New York, occupied with translating the Bible into the Mohawk tongue, and with missionary work for his tribe. In 1775 Brant visited England, where he was something of a social lion, being made much of by the great personages of the time. He became confirmed in loyalty to the crown, so that during the Revolution he maintained most of the Iroquois in the British alliance, making headquarters at Niagara, and leading war parties to raid the frontiers. After the Revolution, Brant removed with the Mohawk to Grand River, Ontario, where he died in 1807. The materials collected by Dr. Draper for a biography of this chief are found in Draper Mss., series F.

Towns, and if we could get any supplies there, proceed farther, and if fortune favored us, perhaps finish the matter at once in that quarter by such an unexpected push. When I arrived at Fort Laurens, I immediately disclosed this, and consulted the field officers and principal men of each county who were with me upon it, and they were unanimously against it at that time, giving the following reasons: That it was too early in the season, that great part of the road was yet under water: That the little forage we could bring was already exhausted, and the grass would not support our horses yet; and that the small quantity of provisions we had which would serve the garrison of 100 men in Fort Laurens above two months would only last us ten or twelve days, and must be evacuated for want of provision whether we succeeded or not, which would probably unite all the Indians to a man against us, and drive all the inhabitants over the mountains; and that the plan could at any time be executed with more favorable circumstances while Fort Laurens was kept up and supported in the heart of their country, which the savages saw into themselves, and kept them puzzled and councelling since its first establishment. These reasons weighed so much with me, that I returned to Beaver, and it was happy I did, our men as well as horses tired, and we were six days coming a journey we made out in little better than three.

I intended setting off to-morrow for head quarters, but am informed some of the Delaware chiefs are on their way up to this place, agreeable to an invitation I gave them when last at Fort Laurens, to see me before I went, or accompany me down while I was there. I heard there was a grand council of all the Nations held at Sandusky, the result of which I am now informed is that the Wyandotts are inclined to make peace with us, which I judged would be the case, or that they would remove over the Great Lakes. * * * I enclose a letter I just received from Major Vernon, command^{t} F^{t} Laurens.

I am &c.

LACH^{N} McINTOSH, Comd^{G} W. Dept.

GEN. WASHINGTON.

BRODHEAD ASSUMES COMMAND

[Col. Daniel Brodhead to Gen. George Washington. Washington Papers. A. L. S.]

FORT M°INTOSH April 3rd 1779.

DEAR GENERAL:

On the 28th of last Month I was honored with your Letter Dated at Head Quarters Middle Brook 5th March 1779

I have the highest sense of the Honor [paid] me by your appointment and I sincerely wish to merit a continuance of your good opinion of me, but can only promise that my best exertions shall not be wanting to answer your most sanguine expectations of the Army in this Department, so Soon as General M°Intosh shall please to signify that the Command has devolved on me, which by his Letter of the first instant he has informed me shall be done.

Your Instructions of the 31st of January & 12th of Febr last to General M°Intosh, he put into the Hands of Colonels Gibson & Crawford to read. I mention this circumstance to avoid Sensure should the contents transpire. I have not heard of any person being employed to explore the Country or examine the Navigation; therefore I fear you will receive but imperfect accounts concerning them, untill I can procure such as may be more satisfactory, which I will do as soon as I am fully authorized.

There is a prodigious deficiency of Clothing & Money in this Department, some Cloth has indeed been purchased in the State of Virginia, but the means of making it up are not provided; Shoes and Linnen cannot be had at any rate unless they are sent up by the Clothier Gen[l] [and I am wearied with making fruitless applications to him and the Board of War, although] the Troops are full of Vermin.

All the Money lately brought up by the Deputy Pay Master General is insufficient to discharge the arrearages of the Troops, therefore no recruiting Officers can be sent out untill a sufficient Sum for that Purpose is sent up by the Board of Treasury, And as the Deputy Paymaster (M[r] Baynton) declines that service, I shall be oblidged to send an officer express to Philadelphia to bring it up.

My Son has suffered a long and painful Captivity, and I am informed remains at Philadelphia inactive, having no Command. He is very desirous as well as myself of an interview and I beg

your Excellency will permit him to come to this Department, where I conceive he may be usefully employed in the Service of his Country.

The Delaware chiefs informed me in a conference yesterday that four British Officers & sixteen Privates in an Armed Vessel arrived at Sandusky a few Days ago, and brought with them a great quantity of Liquor & Goods, to engage the Indians to go with them to Fort Laurens. They are to proceed to Kyahaga, thence up that River to a carrying place about five Miles from the head of Tuscarawas,[1] and make a road that distance for some artillery, thence down the Tuscarawas to Fort Laurens & besiege it. The Indians say this is practicable & have offered me two of their best young Men to go & watch the Enemy, and bring me intelligence of their approaches. The Delaware chiefs seem desirous to do us every Service that wo[uld] not involve them in a war with People of their own colour, and as their intelligence has chiefly been true, I cannot now despise it.

The Loss or evacuation of Fort Laurens would greatly encourage the Enemy, at the same time it would discourage our Inhabitants.

I have taken the liberty to inclose two speeches one from me to the Delaware Chiefs, the other is their answer Also Copies of Letters from Mr Hackenwelder to Col^{o} Gibson & from Major Vernon to myself.

I conceive that 1,000£ worth of Indian Goods at the former cheap rates would save a great many Thousands in this department, if properly applied in gaining intelligence [&] engaging some Indians in amity with us to act as Scouts & Guides, & finally as Warriors.

Our Provisions are very low at present and the Delaware Chiefs with their attendants of Men Women & Children amounting to sixty seven in number have lessened it considerably, but it is necessary to put the best Face on our Circumstances, as the Enemy constantly endeavour to [prove to] them we are very indigent.

A Deputy Adjutant Genl, Deputy paymaster Genl, Muster Master & Inspector, will be necessary in this Department, And it would afford me great satisfaction could my Son be appointed to one of these, particularly one of the first mentioned. The Muster master appointed by General McIntosh was a Lieut^{t} in my Reg^{t}

[1] For the Cuyahoga (Kayahaga) River see *Frontier Defense*, 164, note 27. The portage from the Tuscarawas to the former stream crossed the summit at Akron. The road was about eight miles long and traces of the old portage path are still visible. See *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, VIII, 290.

and resigned upon a supposition that he was reduced to an Ensigncy by the late arrangement. He is a very young Man and it is now clear that he has lost nothing of his rank, therefore I cannot conceive why he should be aversed to joining his Reg[t].

General M[c]Intosh has appointed several Ensigns to my Regiment as well as Col[o] Gibsons, and a number of promotions have otherwise taken place. The Officers are very anxious to have their Commissions and I should be much oblidged for a few blanks if there be any at Head Quarters and leave to fill them up. I am very sensible of the necessity of using the utmost diligence in procuring Craft, and on receipt of your Instructions gave immediate Orders to the Quarter Master to engage six persons capable of superintending & directing the Building & making them, and to the Superintendant of the Works here to take the names of all the Handy Craftsmen in the 8th Pens[a] & 13th V. Reg[ts] as well as the Independant Companies that might be employed in that Service. And as no perfect account is yet obtained of Navigation of the different Waters you have directed to be examined, they will be chiefly employed in making large [Ms. illegible] of which a great number may be made up Yoghegania River M[r] John Dodge informs me that there is often a very high swell in lake Erie. I am informed that the Mingoes liv[ing] up the Allegheny at a place called Connewago[1] are much red[uced] by the small pox. Should the intelligence respecting the Enem[y's] design against Fort Laurens prove groundless, I have thought of taking some Circuitous route to attack a small Town [on] the river LaBeuf because the Indians there have been rem[arka]bly hostile.

I shall be happy to hear from you as often as convenient and receive Instructions; nor will I fail to transmit to your Excellency every interesting account that m[ay] occur, although Expresses (considering the enormous expence of traveling) ought not to be multiplied.

Every Sentence you have or may hereafter think proper to communicate to me will remain a profound secret.

With the greatest regard & most perfect esteem I have the

[1] The Indian village called Conewago was situated at the mouth of Conewango Creek near the present site of Warren, Pa. It was described in 1749 by the expedition of Céloron under the term "Kauaouagon." Pouchot in 1758 speaks of this village as "Kauoagoa." When Brodhead's expedition reached this town in August, 1779, they found that eighteen months ago the village had been deserted.

Honor to be your Exce[llencies] most Obed[t] most Humble [Servant]

DANIEL BRO[DHEAD] Col° 8th P[a] [Reg[t]]

HIS EXCELL[Y] GEN[L] WASHINGTON.

SOUTHWEST VIRGINIA FRONTIER ATTACKED

[Col. William Preston to Col. William Fleming. 3ZZ18. A. L. S.]

Sunday night Apri! 4th 1779

DEAR SIR:

Two Men were killed last Tuesday at the Clover Bottom on Blue Stone about 45 Miles from here; and yesterday one Hale was wounded near Muncy's fort on Walkers Creek about 18 Miles from this Place.[1] These Accounts I rec[d] by Express. I have just now heard that, a little before Hale was wounded, the Indians killed six persons of John Bradlys Family, whose house was in sight of Hale when he was fired on. Hale was followed a considerable Distance by four Indians and with great Difficulty he got to one Shannons[2] covered with Blood, passing his house above two miles, which gives me reason to doubt that his Family are also destroyed; but of this I have had no Account.

On the first Alarm I ordered out a Party of Men, but I hear the officer did not get half the number I directed. Cap[t] Cloyd is out, but has no men, by whom I expect a full account of the Damage done in that Neighbourhood by to morrow Morning. Two Scouts have been down the River since the 26 ult. from whom there is no Intiligence; they are expected to return, if alive, in two or three Days from this Time.

I have countermanded the Orders for a general Muster in this County, which was to have been held next Wednesday; and I made free to recommend it to Cap[t] William Robinson on the N°

[1] For the streams mentioned see *Dunmore's War*, 56, note 96. The Clover Bottom on Bluestone River was settled by Mitchell Clay in 1775. It is located about five miles north of Princeton, Mercer County, W. Va. One of Clay's family was killed at this time. Munsey's (Muncy) Fort on Walker's Creek was the home of Zechariah Munsey who was an ancestor of a family of well-known Virginia Methodists.

[2] For the families of Hale and Shannon on New River see David E. Johnston, *History of Middle New River Settlements* (Huntington, W. Va., 1906), *passim*.

Fork, not to call his Company down on this Occasion lest that settlement might thereby be too much exposed to Danger in the Absence of the Men. Indeed I believe the News would have prevented their going at any rate.

The People on Sinking Creek and down the river are gathered to different places, & I suppose they will do the same in this Neighbourhood to morrow. I am doubtful that Pearis's fort[1] on the River and Munseys on Walkers Creek will be evacuated. Were it even possible to raise a Company it is impossible to procure Provisions for their support. The whole Country is alarmed. Should the People remove it will ruin them, & to stay is dangerous. I am at a great loss what to do for the best. I have been advised to appoint an Officer at each post & put the Inhabitants under Pay & agree with them for their Rations. I confess I never liked this method of Defending the Frontiers, as it does by no means strengthen the Garrisons, & what measure to adopt at this Juncture I do not know. I will be much obliged to you for your Opinion herein. The situation of my own Family is far from being agreeable. Indeed it is such that I believe the greatest Enemy I have, even on Holston, will not Envy.

I am Sir your most Obed[t] Serv[t]

W[M] PRESTON.

[*Addressed:*] To Col[o] William Fleming, P W. Breckenridge.[2]

[Col. William Preston to Capt. William Robinson. 3ZZ17. Contemporary transcript.]

April 4th 1779

SIR:

About 10 oClock last Night I had a Letter by Express from Cap[t] Cloyd informing me that W[m] Hale was fired at by a Party

[1] This fort was at the home of Capt. George Pearis, a settler of Huguenot extraction, who had about 1770 removed to the Virginia frontier from South Carolina. He afterwards settled at the present town of Pearisburg in Giles County. Whether he was at this site when this document was written is uncertain. See Johnston, *op. cit.*, 85.

[2] William Breckinridge was a nephew of Colonel Preston, being the son of his sister, Letitia, and Col. Robert Breckinridge. The younger Breckinridge went to Kentucky as a surveyor prior to the year 1780 and settled in Fayette County, where he made his home. He married in Augusta County, and one son, John Boys Breckinridge, was a merchant at Staunton.

of Indians Near Munseys fort on Walkers Creek yesterday That he Rec[d] a bad wound & though he was followed a Considerable Distance by four Indians. He got to Shannons, at the big crossing, covered with blood. It is believed, & I am afraid with too much Reason; that Bradleys numerous helpless familey was, murdered yesterday. I expect further Intelligence every Hour. This Country is much Alarmed. The People on Sinking Creek are I believe, gathering to Day I have sent out orders to all Quarters forbidding the Militia to Attend the general Muster. As the Enemy have made such hasty Strides to the Settlements & no force can be Raised to repell them, it is hard to determine how far they may Penetrate. If Col[o] Fleming was apprised hereof, I am convinced, that he would exempt your Company from attending the G. Muster. Indeed I would recomend it to you as a prudent measure not to call them down on this Occasion, as there families will be exposed; you can suffer no Censure from Col[o] Fleming for doing so, but Rather the contrary, I shall write to him to morrow; as also give you notice of any further Accounts I may receive from that Quarter.

I am Sir &c W[m] PRESTON

Three Prisoners taken and three kiled at Philips on Clinch about March 20th Sterns & Baker kild the other side of Cumberland some little time afterwards. Clay & Pain kild on Blewstone 30th

[John Madison to Col. William Fleming. 2ZZ80. A. L. S.]

5th April 1779

MY D[R] COL[O]:

The frequent reports we have of the Hostile Intention of our Sable Neighbours is by no Means Clever, for which reason I would fain Put my Family in the best Posture of Defence I Possibly can, Say Good Sir can you spare me a Musquet or two at any Price or can you supply me with a little Amunition in case of Danger. I think you Intimated that I might have 2 or 3 Dozen of Gun Flints pray send them by Rowland[1] for I have not one

I am with much Esteem Y[r] Ob[t] Servant

JOHN MADISON

[1] Rowland Madison, younger brother of Bishop James, of William and Mary College, married Anne, only daughter of Gen. Andrew Lewis. They removed to Kentucky at an early day.

INTERPRETER ARRESTED

[Charges against Daniel Sullivan. Washington Papers.]

PITTSBURGH April 7th 1779

Daniel Sullivan, (an Indian Interpreter) confined for Obstructing The Commanding Officer in his duty and Transactions with The Indians and preventing their going to Council with him at Pitts Burgh going to their Towns and endeavouring to make the delaware Indians break the last treaty of peace and Union they made with the American States at this place corrupting them with promises and expectations of gain and furnishing them with Arguments for that purpose which would oversett all Treaties VIZ^t^ That the Interpreter (Colonel Gibson and others) told lyes and Interpreted falsely; for preventing the Indians to take up The Hatchet in favour of the United States, and Joining us heartily to retaliate in their own way upon our cruel & unrelenting foes and fix the Savages in our Interest.—falsely and wickedly telling them The Commissioners and Commanding Officer of this Department exceeded Their Authority by offering the Hatchet; that it was never intended by Congress, & that General M^c^Intosh for attempting it was called away never to return here again; tending to bring Officers put into high Trust in These States into contempt among the Savages to alienate the Minds of these people and make them despise our Councils and Interest with many other things Transacted by the said Sullivan in a private manner and without The Concurrence or knowledge of the Officer Commanding The Department which confirms the opinion of his being Inimical and that his going at large may be very dangerous to These States

Evidences: Colonel John Gibson Mr Saml Sample Wm Brady David Zeisberger John Heckenwelder & many others

MESSAGES TO TRIBES FORMERLY HOSTILE

[Col. Daniel Brodhead to the Wyandot and Ottawa chiefs. 1H51–53. Contemporary transcript.]

FORT PITT April 8th 1779

Colo Brodhead To the Chiefs of the Wyondat Nation.

BROTHERS:

I am much rejoiced to hear from you by your Nephews the Delawares, and that the great good Spirit has inclined your Hearts to do that which is good for yourselves & your posterity.

Brothers: Your Nephews the Delawares of Cochocking have acted a wise part which all the nations must soon Confess, The great good Spirit has been particularly kind to them & kept them in the right path for which their Hearts will soon be joyfull.

Brothers: The Mingoes, who always pretend to be wiser than other Nations, have ruled a number better than themselves long enough. When God intends to save a Nation from destruction he opens the eyes of its Rulers & discovers to them the Danger it is in, So when a Nation is grown too wicked and God is determined to destroy it he suffers it to go on in its Wickedness and continues it in blindness untill Destruction comes on it like whirlwind. Nations are like Men when they grow too old they enter into another Childhood their Councils are Foolish & they must soon die.

The English are like to these, both them & the Mingoes have for many years lived upon Robbing and plundering their Neighbours most of the english are dead already & the rest must die very soon.

Brothers: Be Strong in the good Works you have begun and let the Nations all round you hear your Voice & be ashamed they have been Fools so long. You will act Wisely to gather in those bloody Tomhawks that are stained with the blood of the innocent Women & Children of the Americans, your Countrymen, born & grown up in the same Country with you, and who would never have differed with the Indians if they had not been forced to it by the English; when their King ruled America.

Brothers: I long to hear from you, rise up and come quickly. The Season advances for my Warriors to take up their Guns & Tomhawks and March to fight our Enemies.

Brothers: The French King desires the Americans to be Strong and fight their Enemies & his Enemies, the English & their Allies,

are our Enemies, and they will see how we fight before two Moons are past.

Brothers: Your Nephews the Delawares say that you have spoken to them to speak with your Brothers the Americans & they now request you will meet them here in thirty Days from this time on their return from Philad[a]. The Delawares say Now Uncles be Strong and dont fail to meet me at this place our old Council fire at Fort Pitt in thirty Days I send the same Man to you that carried my former Speech and the same Man will come along with you to this place.

The Delawares say now Uncles you have heard my speech. Listen to me now my Grand Children, the Tawas Chepawa's & Pootowatomies, I will mention the Speeches we had before of the good works between us, Now you told me Grand Children, that what ever I shou'd desire you to do, you wou'd do it. Now Grand Children I take hold of you softly by the Hand, & desire you to get up & come & meet me at this place our old Council Fire at Pittsburgh in thirty Days from this time.

Grand Children: now I see the works are very good I see that our Brothers the Americans are with us one people If you come it will be the Means of our Children & Grand Children living to see a new Day.

This is to the Wyondot Chief Baubee

[Col. Daniel Brodhead to the Shawnee chiefs. 1H54–55. A. D.]

HEAD QUARTERS FORT PITT April 8th 1779

BROTHERS THE SHAWNESE:

I always took you to be a wise & good Nation and am sorry to hear that you are likely to follow the ways of bad Men who come three Thousand Miles to rob & Steal. They will tell you fine Stories but are you not wise enough to know that they would not come so far if it was not with a view to rob & Steal & fill their Pockets.

Brothers: Listen to me whilst it is yet time to speak together I tell you these very People from the other side the Great Water first cheated you out of your Lands & now come & speak to you to join with them to rob us to make them rich If they say they are your Friends they deceive you and yet you receive their false Reports with as much greediness as bad Women receive the em-

braces of any one who gives them a little Rum or a Blanket I have thought it right to speak my mind freely as I always do to every People I wish you would be wise & listen to your Friend before it is too late This is the last time I shall speak to you if you do not listen to your Grandfathers the Delawares Their talk goes with mine and we have one Heart and both wish you would think of your Wives & Posterity I suppose you think they the English are great Warriors you dont know that we have killed almost all of them except a few Who ran to Georgia to Steal some rice & negroes to take home with them to England. And what do you think will [be]come of you when these plunderers are gone Do you think that your fair Speeches will do then Dont be deceived I am sure they will not Therefore I once more tell you be wise in time

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[The Delaware chiefs to the Shawnee chiefs. 1H66–67. Contemporary transcript.]

[April 8, 1779.]

The Delawares to the Shawnese:

Listen to me my Grandson Keetshinaatsa and your Wise men likewise Nimhaw & Maluntha & Keghteghkawa likewise your Warrior Owakonna Grand Children the Maquachese[1]

When you left my Town you spoke to me you give into my Hands of the Good Works for to speak to our Brethren of the 13 United States that you should know what to say to them.

Now *my Grand Children:* when you told me that I was satisfied I tell you that is enough.

Now *my Grand Children:* listen to me I tell you now your War-

[1] These chiefs were all prominent among the Shawnee tribe: "Keetshinaatsa" is probably the Indian name for Blackhoof, head chief of the tribe, who was born in Florida early in the eighteenth century, was at Braddock's defeat, and the battle of Point Pleasant. Having signed the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, he remained true to the American alliance in the War of 1812, and refused to join the British raiding parties. The old chief was a fine orator, and had great influence with his tribe. He died in Indiana about the year 1832.

Moluntha was a famous Shawnee chief, who after 1783 sincerely tried to keep peace between his tribe and the frontiersmen. He was murdered by an American during Logan's expedition of 1786.

"Maquachese" refers to the Mequochoke division of the Shawnee tribe. They were a priestly caste, and though not numerous were of great importance. See *Frontier Defense*, 20, note 45.

riors Oweapachjeanno. Now when I got up from there I told you to let me see what is doing amongst the Nations I told you I was getting up to go to speak with our Brethren of the 13th United States. Now I shall be able to acquaint you from what I see with my Eyes how things stand affected. I shall inform you truly. Now when you see that you shall consider of it & take Pity on your Children.

Now *Grand Children:* you shall see & hear what you heard from your eldest Brothers the Wyondats Now get up immediately and come along with your eldest Brothers, the Wyondats to meet me here at Pitsburgh on my return from Philad[a] at our old Council Fire in thirty Days from this time.

Now *hingguapoos* chief of the Delawares at Coochocking having the care of the people there If you are unwell I desire you will nominate a Man to Conduct our Grand Children the Shawnese to this place

Now *hingguapoos:* There is three Kegs of powder & some lead to come to you by Quashaackssey Now look upon your young Men that are at home to take care of them and divide it into three parts equally between the Tortle Tribe the Turky tribe & the Wolf tribe.[1]

Now *hingguapoos:* I desire you will immediately send two Men of our Town Cochacking to watch the Motions of the English at Kayahaga and if you hear any news from there or any other place to send immediate Notice to Colonel Brodhead who is now appointed the Commander in chief of the Western Army instead of Gen[l] M[c]Intosh who is gone away.

Now *Hingguapoos:* Be Strong in good Works there are sensible Men with you & they will assist you in Council if you hear any news from any Place acquaint Col[o] Brodhead immediately, when the Cherokees come to you acquaint him likewise as soon as they come to your Town. When the Cherokees come to you use them kindly wipe of their Tears & let them remain with you untill the Chiefs Return from Philadelphia.

[1] The three clans of the Delaware tribe represented by their respective totems.

BRODHEAD'S INDIAN TITLE

[The Delaware chiefs to Col. Daniel Brodhead. 1H56. Contemporary transcript.]

FORT PITT April 9th 1779

The Delawares at a Conference say:

Of Our ancestors the Good Men of our Nation We now handed you down a Name, as we look upon you to be an Upright Man You are henceforth called by Us the Delaware Nation, *the Great Moon* that is in Delaware *Maghingua Keeshoch*[1] Hereafter our Great Grand Children yet unborn when they come to the Years of understanding shall know that your Name is handed down as their great Grand father. All the Speeches you now send to the Nations must be signed with your present Name Machingua Keeshoch And all the Nations will address you by that Name There were four great good Kings of our Nation One of their names you have Taimenend[2] is another we have yet two to bestow. Our Ancestors in former times they were of a good disposition and are the cause of our now being as one Man and now we place you in the same light with us now hereafter perhaps those of our Nation yet unborn are to know that that was the Name of their Ancestor. Captn Johnny says that now he comes to know the will of God he rejects his former Name & title And desires to be called Assilaus [Israel] Captn Killbuck says his Name is Killalamunt, Pakelend desires his Name to be taken down

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WAR PARTIES RAID THE FRONTIER

[John Heckewelder to Col. Daniel Brodhead. 15S165–66. Transcript.]

COOSHOCKING, April 9th 1779.

The following parties have come from war through our towns within a fortnight: First a party of Mingoes with 3 children prisoners; a party of 10 Delawares and Shawanoes, with 2 scalps and 2 children prisoners, they also brought off a sucking child,

[1] The bestowal of this Delaware name upon Colonel Brodhead was considered a great honor. Brodhead's descendants prized this token of his popularity with the Indians, and related the circumstance to Dr. Draper.

[2] Bestowed upon Col. George Morgan.

which always crying they killed by Little Beaver Creek. I suppose this to be the party you mentioned to me in your letter of 23[d] March; a party of Shawanoes with three prisoners, one an old man of 84 years was taken when a boiling sugar not far from Wheeling. The people of our society laid a great deal of wampum and tobacco together, and with the same made a speech to the party in order to release the old man, and send him back to Fort M[c]Intosh, but in vain. Another party of two Shawanese, one having received a shot through his arm and the bullet lodged in his body—we cannot rightly [tell] the number of this party or what they did, only that they had been attacked below Fort M[c]Intosh, where they all scattered.

This day six warriors came in here, all Wyandotts, and three of them the Half King's sons,—they killed two men somewhere above Redstone, after which they went into a garden, dug some root, which they took to be eatable, and had they eat a little more of it, they would all have died, as they say, on the spot, for it worked them so that they were taken with the fitts.

THE SPY SERVICE

[Col. Daniel Brodhead to Col. David Shepherd. 1SS159. L. S.]

HEAD QUARTERS FORT PITT April 10th 1779

DEAR SIR:

Yours of the 7th instant I received yesterday by Express. Your Letter of the 6th I have not Seen.

I suppose the eighteen rangers you mention are part of the Company ordered by Gen[l] M[c]Intosh to be raised for the Defense of the Counties of Ohio & Monongahela. And as you & Col[o] Evans[1] must have a perfect knowledge of the situation of both Counties and consequently be the best Judges where & how the Men ought to be employed I shall for the present leave them to your direction & hope they will answer a good Purpose in protecting the Settlements. As to the spies I think their pay very high and yet it is not too high considering the danger they may be exposed to, but how are they on discovery to give Notice to the Inhabitants? and they are not in force to attack any Party that may

[1] Col. John Evans, county lieutenant of Monongalia, for whom see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 234, note 78.

attempt to cross the River. These considerations incline me to think they had better be employed on your own side the River, where they may act with greater safety to themselves & can give immediate Notice of the approaching Enemy, to the Inhabitants, and consequently will not demand such great pay for their Service, besides this they will be the easier subsisted. Upon the whole I submit to you which may be best to do for the Protection of the Settlements.

I have reason to believe that the Western Indians, if not our Allies will soon be Neuter, the Delaware Chiefs of Coochocking have greatly exerted themselves in our favour and I apprehend will prevent a general War with the Savages.

I shall be glad to hear from you as frequent as may be convenient and am with regard your Hble Servt

DANIEL BRODHEAD Colo Command. W. District

COLo SHEPHERD

WESTMORELAND DISTRESSED

[Col. Archibald Lochry to Col. Daniel Brodhead. Washington Papers. Transcript.]

HANNASTOWN April 11th 1779.[1]

DEAR COLo:

I received your favor of the 13th Inst by your express. & have sent you the maps you desire.—I am sorry to inform you the account Nicholson gave you is too true. Three men with one Dennison of your regiment that Major Huffnogle[2] sent to you are not returned, & I fear they are fallen into the hands of the enemy.

You are not [now] to learn Dr Colo that our frontiers have stood

[1] There is some mistake in this date; probably it should be April 14, 1779.

[2] Michael Huffnagle had been an officer in the Eighth Pennsylvania. Commissioned as adjutant, Sept. 7, 1776, in the First Continental Infantry, he became, Mar. 16, 1777, a captain in the Pennsylvania regulars. During the summer of 1778 he retired from active service, and settled near Hannastown, where he was very efficient in organizing the Westmoreland militia. At the instance of General McIntosh two companies were authorized by the state and raised under Huffnagle's superintendency. See *Pa. Archives*, 2nd ser., III, 311, 318. He was afterwards prothonotary of the county, and prominent in the siege of Hannastown in July, 1782. Under the régime of General Irvine, Huffnagle, in partnership with David Duncan, was contractor for provisions for the army. He died in Allegheny County, Dec. 31, 1819, at the age of sixty-six years.

as long as they can & with infinite pain I inform you they are now removing & evacuating the country, but I have told them that if they will stand their ground you will in the course of your usual good offices accommodate them with a few men at Ligonier, Fort Wallace, Fort Lochry[1] & Cavits mill to assist them in working their fields.

I have taken the liberty to station some Recruits at those places but these helps are too feeble. I must therefore request that a party of Continental Troops, may be sent to fort Crawford, or such places, as your better sense may advise & give relief to a truly distressed people one of whom has the honor to be, Sir, Your most Obedient humble Servant

A LOCHRY

COL° BRODHEAD

INDIAN SCOUTS REQUESTED

[Col. Daniel Brodhead to Big Cat.[2] 1H57. A. L. S.]

HEAD QUARTERS PITTSBURGH April 14th, 1779.

BROTHER HINGUAPOOS:

The Chiefs of the Delaware Nation have encouraged me to employ some Men as Guides & spies and now I know the Country from here to Detroit by the way of Scioto & Tuscarawas, I should be glad likewise to know the road to Niagara, Presquisle, & the Mingoe Towns up Allegheny. Therefore

Brother: As you have now the care of the people at Coochocksing I desire you will send me two good Men that have good hearts & good Heads to go from hence up the Allegheny & La Bœuf Rivers & bring me perfect acco^ts of the Waters & Land Carriage that may be made to Niagara and the other places above mentioned.

I am your Friend Brother.

MAGHINGUA KEESHOCH

[1] Fort Lochry was probably at the residence of Col. Archibald Lochry. For the location see *Frontier Defense*, 39, note 79.

[2] This chief had been left in charge of the Delaware council at Coshocton, while Killbuck and his confreres were absent in attendance upon Congress at Philadelphia.

REPORTS FROM FORT PITT

[Summary of letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Headquarters, Pittsburgh, April 15, 1779, to Pres. Joseph Reed. Printed in *Pa. Archives*, XII, 106–8.]

Has been honored with command of department, hopes to strike the enemy with terror. Consequences of his predecessor's action. Desires readjustment of officers, mentioning Captains Dawson,[1] Carnahan,[2] John Finley, and Stokeley.[3] Department left in confusion, and Westmoreland badly harassed. Delawares may be prevailed upon to attack the Six Nations. Speeches have been sent to several western nations, most of whom will be quiet this summer if not friendly. Especial need for shoes because of activity of service. Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment much scattered, above one hundred under Major Vernon are posted at Fort Laurens, twenty-five at Wheeling, and the like number at Holliday's Cove, some employed as artificers, some as boatmen, wagoners, etc. They compose the garrison at Fort McIntosh and part of that of Fort Pitt. The distress of the settlements is due mainly to the Mingo Indians.

[Col. Daniel Brodhead to Gen. George Washington. Washington Papers. A. L. S.]

FORT PITT April 17th 1779

DEAR GENERAL:

On the 8th Instant I was honoured with your Instructions together with copies of Letters to General M°Intosh & myself, and in the future will use the same precaution for fear of accidents.

[1] Capt. Samuel Dawson enlisted in the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment, Sept. 30, 1776; he was transferred to the Eighth Pennsylvania July 1, 1778, and died Sept. 3, 1779.

[2] Capt. James Carnahan, referred to in *Frontier Defense*, 41, note 82, was a native of Pennsylvania who enlisted in the Continental army, Mar. 16, 1776. At the battle of Long Island he was captured and kept a prisoner until exchanged Dec. 1, 1776. Meanwhile (Oct. 24) he had been promoted to a lieutenancy, and early in 1777 was made a captain. On July 1, 1778 he was transferred to the Eighth Pennsylvania, in 1781 to the Fourth, and in 1783 to the Second. He served throughout the war, being brevetted major just before his discharge.

[3] Nehemiah Stokeley was appointed first lieutenant in the Pennsylvania line in 1776; he attained a captaincy, Oct. 16, 1777, and retired the last of January,

I have hitherto heard nothing of Col° Rawlins nor do I know whether he is yet on his March, but suppose he will make no delay after his Corps is relieved by the Militia. As soon as he arrives & his men are refreshed I will give him instructions for building a Fort at Kittanning & another at Venango. Col° Gibson & his Men have been relieved sometime ago by an hundred & six rank & file compleatly officered under the Command of Major Vernon.

The Stores at Fort Laurens are considerable and it will be impossible for Major Vernon to remove them unless pack Horses or Craft be sent him for that purpose. About fifty Horses left there are either killed or drove off by the Enemy, and he cannot without too much risque send out a party to make Craft.

I enclose a return of the Stores at Fort Laurens (besides arms & ammunition of which I have no return, and will give Major Vernon Orders to hold himself in readiness to March as directed, but apprehend it may be necessary to send up a Detachment with Horses to bring in the Stores.

General M°Intosh has taken with him the returns of the different Corps in this department which he will doubtless lay before your Excell^{y}, but least they may not arrive so soon as may be wished I shall enclose a general return. There is very little choice between Fort Pitt & Fort M°Intosh either for covering the Frontiers or intercepting Indian parties And as Fort M°Intosh is on the Indian Land and keeps up an appearance of hostilities to the Westward and some of our Horses & Cattle have already been drove off from thence perhaps on account of some Jealousy. And the Expedition is intended up the Allegheny, and therefore the Magazines which may be laid in at that post must again be brought up to this place which is upwards of thirty Miles. Likewise because the Inhabitants of this Village would be very apt to desert to desert [*sic*] it should the Fort be evacuated & thereby greatly discourage the Inhabitants of the Country it at present appears to me that this post ought to be Supported, but as to the rest I cannot see how they, with so few Troops can be kept up and yet I think it a pity to evacuate Fort M°Intosh, (where almost all the Stores in this Department are at present) I shall endeavour to do every thing for the best but wish I was a little nearer to you, where I might oftener receive your Excellencies commands.

1779. He was afterwards engaged in the militia service of Westmoreland County, where he made his home, and where he died in 1811.

I think it was sometime in March last that Gen[l] M[c]Intosh ordered two Companies to be raised in Westmoreland for the defence of its Frontier they were to be Subsisted by the Inhabitants during their term which I understand is six Months. And sometime afterwards he ordered another Company to be raised for the protection of the Frontiers of Monongahela & Ohio Counties for the subsistance of which he ordered the public provisions to be retained in Monongahela County. I have not yet been informed what Success the officers appointed to command these Companies have had in recruiting but you shall soon be acquainted after I receive their returns.

I have tried to borrow some Money to enable the Officers to recruit Men but have not succeeded to my wish nor expectation most of the Money here being of the Emissions called in by Congress, but I will endeavour to borrow some from the Staff untill a sum can be brought up from the board of Treasury. I have thought of withdrawing the Garrison from Canhawa[1] which consists of less than forty men and being 150 Miles from the Inhabitants it is very difficult to subsist it at any rate. It appears to me that small Garrisons are not of half the Benefit in protecting the Inhabitants that light parties will be if employed to scout on the Indian side up & down the River; who by making rafts of dry wood, falling down the river by nights and march[e] up by Day, could scarcely fail of intercepting the Enemy either in their approach to or return from the Settlements, and the Militia would answer very well for that purpose and the public Stores would be secured by being collected to one grand magazine and fewer Staff Officers (greatly multiplied) employed.

Inclosed I send a Copy of Col[o] Lochry's Letter[2] it is affecting enough but similar Calamities are suffering in different parts of this extensive Frontier, and I wish the Country may not be evacuated before we are enabled to push the war into the Enemies Country. I shall not fail to encourage the Inhabitants and if possible give the Enemy a blow by a Sudden March to some of their Towns if with but a few Men, for many I cannot collect without evacuating a number of posts which the Inhabitants conceive are of great security to them, though in fact they only serve to lull them into a treacherous idea of Security. I likewise herewith send some Notes taken by Col[o] Jn[o] Campbell in 1762. He informs me

[1] This refers to Fort Randolph, which was temporarily evacuated.
[2] See *ante*, 284.

it is 130 miles from hence to Venango by water & only 70 by Land, that French Creek is one entire Rapid for seven Miles above Venango and from thence it is very crooked having many short turns and he thinks at this time a great many Trees fallen across it and that the causway is altogether impassible[1] & very difficult to be repaired. He likewise says that small Craft cannot live in lake Erie only in a Calm and that on seeing a Cloud if in three Minutes after the craft cannot be dragged on Shore they will be filled with water and that they are constantly exposed to the Fire of the Enemies Vessels in the Lake. I cannot yet find a person so well acquainted in the Seneca Country as to give satisfactory information of the extent of the Navigation & face of the Country above it. I have Sent for a whiteman who was several years a prisoner up that way but fear he can give but an imperfect account of the Streams & Paths leading either to Niagara or the Seneca Country. From hence to Kittanning is 45 Miles and it is thought the Craft may proceed up the river Allegheny about ten miles a Day on an average in fair weather. it is about 20 Miles to an Indian Town above Venango on the Allegheny & about 70 Miles to Konnewago and from thence about [Ms. illegible] to another Town this is computed by Land but the distance by water is nearly double. but it is uncertain whether Indians are now living there, I am informed that the Savages have left their Towns on river La Bœuf upwards of a year ago. The Delaware Indians seem very desir[ous] to assist me by every means in their power and I hope [to] engage some of them against the Mingoes after I have advanced some distance into their Country, provided I am furnished with the proper articles to reward them which are Indian Goods Trinkets & black wampum I have not yet been able to gain proper information of what communicatioa can be formed with the peo[ple] of Pensilvania from whence supplies may be drawn, or wh[ich] in case of extream urgency might serve as retreats but w[ill] write you again as soon as I can obtain it with [an]y degree of certainty.

It is obvious that the Delawares are nice observers of the supplies taken out for the Subsistance of [our] Army and our Interest with them & the other Nations [will] greatly depend on the appearance of resources. For my part I could wish to be enabled to hold every foot of the Country that may be covered by the army

[1] This refers to the portage road between Presqu'isle (now Erie, Pa.) and the navigable waters of French Creek (formerly River Le Bœuf). This causeway was built by the French in 1753.

for the benefit of the States and I have a happy presage that we may soon be the masters of Lake Erie & the adjacent Country. Indians generally consume a double quantity of Flour but kill a great deal of wild meat. The Quarter Master has already engaged a great number of Plank & some tar for the Boats that may be Built and a number of Artificers are set out to build large Canoes.

Inclosed are copies of Speeches to & from the Indians. The Chiefs informed me the Scioto is navigable for Canoes & Batteaux untill Harvest but afterwards it is said to be very shallow. It is a plane Country between the heads of Scioto & Sandusky & in Summer the Portage will be good and the Herbage extraordinary, they likewise say it is but a short distance between the two Rivers. a great part of the Country between Fort Laurens & Detroit is wet in June but gets dry after Harvest except some Savannahs, which must be causwayed before Carriages can pass them, and they say that the Country for the most part is level & thin of timber. Herbage is already very forward & the waters low, in three weeks hence there will be the greatest plenty of Food for horses & Cattle.

As we have not been enabled to comply with our Contracts made with the Delaware Runners I am apprehensive it will be difficult to engage them to explore the Seneca Country, but I must & will if possible engage two or three for that purpose. Birchbark is not to be had in this part of the Country nor can I learn that any other bark will do so well for making Canoes. The Delaware Chiefs have promised to furnish me with Guides for every route and some of them have offered their Service to go personally with me, but it will scarcely be in my power to obtain so perfect an account from any spies that may be employed as to enable me with any degree of Precision to mark the daily halting places either by Land or water and because of the waters sometimes raising very high and at other times being too low for navigation.

I beg your Excellency will send some discreet French gentlemen to this place some if possible that are acquainted with the Customs of Indians & one or two good Engineers likewise an adequate number of good artillerists to the pieces you are pleased to assign me. And hope you will pardon a repitition of my request for a few light Swivels.

Captain Heth's independant Company at this place is as useless a Corps as any I ever saw, they are compos[ed] chiefly of the Inhabi-

tants of the neighbourhood, his own Farm is near to the Fort and I am informed the Soldi[ers] either work their own Farms or their Captains or are hired to work for wages and that he can seldom Shew twenty Men out of fifty odd which he returns at this post I think it would be proper to join this & Capt[n] Moreheads Company to the Regiments but will wait untill your pleasure is known in regard to them.

By a late Law of the State of Virg[a] the drafts for eighteen Months receive fourteen or fifteen hundred Dollars bounty; this has put an end to the recruiting Service for sometime, and the terms of a great majority of my best Men will expire next August, when they will probably insist on discharges and be much wanted, but if I could now offer them two hundred Dollars bounty each I think many of them would reinlist. I could have reinlisted most of the new levies during the war had they been permitted to choose their Corps, after Gen[l] M[c]Intosh had issued orders to enlist them but he thought proper to order my recruiting officers to desist.

I am happy in being quite disinterested in the dispute between Pens[a] & Virginia and I am informed that the Legislative bodies of both States are taking effectual Steps to prevent every disagreeable consequence on that account in future. We have had two Days severe Cold weather & Snow, the fruit & mast is lost for this Season and the waters of Monongahela are so low that the Craft now at redstone cannot get down with loads untill the water rises [Ms. torn. Several words missing] has. Gen[l] M[c]Intosh's leaves to [go] down the Country, he will doubtless wait on you and answer any questions you may please to ask him.

With the most perfect Regard & Esteem I have the Honor to be your Excellencies most Obed[t] & most Hble Serv[t]

DANIEL BRODHEAD Col[o] Command[g] West[n] district

I beg my respectfull Compliments may be presented to y[r] Excellencies family.

D B

HIS EXCELLENCY GEN[l] WASHINGTON

RAIDS ON MONONGAHELA AND YOUGHIOGHENY

[Summary of an anonymous letter, Fort Pitt, April 20, 1779. Printed in Almon's *Remembrancer*, VIII, 274.]

A woman on Cheat River, after killing one Indian and wounding another made her escape.[1] Mr. Sampson's son[2] was taken at his plantation, and another man and woman of that neighborhood were captured. About April 9, four men sent express from Fort Pitt for Hannastown were found dead and scalped about fifteen miles from the former post on the great road. April 13, David Morgan of Monongalia County discovered two Indians creeping upon some young people in the field. Morgan had a personal encounter with one whom he finally disabled.[3] April 14, near Cavell's mill two skulking Indians were seen, one was killed, the other escaped. On April 16, David Maxwell and his wife were killed and scalped at Brush Run,[4] near Braddock's old road. Their daughter had been previously captured. The situation is more alarming than it has ever been, the very place the inhabitants have fled for safety has become a dangerous frontier.

[Summary of extract of a letter, Washington County, April 20, from *Maryland Journal*, April 27, 1779. Transcript in 2E108.]

Have undoubted intelligence that the Indians, about two weeks since, struck the settlement on the Yock Glades,[5] about ten or twelve miles within the state line. As five men were covering a cabin, they were fired on, four were killed on the spot, the other

[1] This was the exploit of Mrs. Bozarth, recounted in Thwaites, *Withers' Border Warfare*, 279–80.

[2] Sampson was probably Gilbert Simpson, agent and land partner of George Washington, who lived on the latter's twelve-hundred-acre tract at the site of Perryopolis in Fayette County, Pa.

[3] This episode is related in much detail in *Withers' Border Warfare*, 275–78.

[4] Brush Run is a northern tributary of Turtle Creek, at the mouth of which occurred the defeat of Braddock's army. The site is in modern Allegheny County, Pa.

[5] The Great Glades of the Youghiogheny are in Garrett County, Md., and Preston County, W. Va., and are now utilized as popular summer resorts. See Washington's description of these glades in H. H. Hulbert, *Washington and the West* (N. Y., 1905), 69–70.

escaped, and reported the number of Indians was about twenty-five. A large body of savages has been discovered lurking about the Horse Shoe Bottom,[1] no doubt with hostile intentions.

ORDERS FROM COMMANDER IN CHIEF

[Gen. George Washington to Col. Daniel Brodhead. 1H58–59. Transcript.]

HEAD QUARTERS MIDDLE BROOK April 21st 1779

DEAR SIR:

I have duly received your two favours the 16th[2] and 21st of last Month.

Since my last letter to you and upon a further consideration of the subject, I have relinquished the idea of attempting a coöperation between the Troops at Fort Pitt and the bodies moving from other quarters against the six nations. The difficulty of providing supplies in time—the want of satisfactory information of the routes and nature of the country up the Allegheny and between that and the Indian settlements—consequently the uncertainty of being able to coöperate to advantage and the hazard which the smaller party might run for want of a coöperation are the principal reasons for declining it. The danger to which the frontier would be exposed, by drawing off the troops from their present position, from the incursions of the more Western tribes is an additional, though a less powerful motive.

The post at Tuscarawas is therefore to be preserved; if after a full consideration of all circumstances, it is judged a post of importance and to be maintained without incurring too great risk; and the troops in general under your command are to be disposed in the manner best calculated to cover and protect the country on a defensive plan.

As it is my wish however, as soon as it may be in our power to chastize the Western savages, by an expedition into their country —you will employ the intermediate time in making preparation and forming magazines of provisions for the purpose. If the expedition against the six nations is successfully ended, a part of the

[1] Horse Shoe Bottom is on the Upper Waters of Cheat River in the modern Tucker County, W. Va.

[2] The letter of Mar. 16, 1779, from Brodhead contained accounts of the disaffection of the officers towards General McIntosh.

troops, employed on this, will probably be sent, in conjunction with those under you, to carry on another that way. You will endeavour to obtain in the meantime and transmit to me every kind of intelligence which will be necessary to assist our operations as precise full and authentic as possible; among other points, you will try to ascertain the most favorable season for an enterprise against Detroit. The frozen season, in the opinion of most is the only one in which any capital stroke can be given, as the enemy can then derive no benefit from their shipping, which must either be destroyed or fall into our hands.

With great regard I am Dr Sir Your most ob^t^ Servt

G° WASHINGTON

McINTOSH AT HEADQUARTERS

[Summary of letter from Gen. Lachlan McIntosh, Camp,[1] April 27, 1779, to Gen. George Washington. Printed in Jared Sparks, *Correspondence of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1853), II, 284–89.]

At Washington's request, reports situation of posts west of the mountains. When McIntosh reached there, Forts Pitt, Randolph, and Hand were garrisoned by Continental troops; these are still kept up by recently raised independent companies. Thirty or forty other small stations, kept up by militia, proved very expensive; McIntosh tried to replace them with ranging companies. Deplorable condition of commissary; had all stores concentrated in the fork of the Monongahela, then opened a road to Big Beaver Creek, and built a strong post there for supplies. After Captain Lockhart's arrival there, Nov. 3, marched with 1,200 men about seventy miles in fourteen days to Tuscarawas. Colonel Campbell, left in command at Fort McIntosh, sent an express with information that no supplies were available. This made it impossible to proceed. Erected Fort Laurens "to serve as a bridle upon the savages in the heart of their own country." The effectual way to subdue Indians is to carry a chain of forts directly into their country. Details on western navigation.

[1] The editor of this document, Jared Sparks, inserted the word "Pittsburgh" at this point. This is an error since McIntosh arrived at Philadelphia before April 24. See *Pa. Archives*, VIII, 342. This letter was written at the Continental camp near Middlebrook, N. J.

ATTACK ON FORT HAND

[Capt. Samuel Moorhead to Col. Daniel Brodhead. 15S192. Transcript.]

FORT HAND, April 27th 1779, 2 o'clock

SIR:

Yesterday about one o'clock this garrison was attacked by a number of Indians and Whites supposed to be not less than one hundred, until about three hours ago; during which time almost a continual firing has been kept up between us night and day. The loss on our side is but three men wounded—one of whom slightly. A surgeon is much wanted. I have great reason to think that they are not glad about the matter. My people in general behaved exceedingly well, and are in great spirits. A reinforcement of men, a fresh supply of ammunition and flour will be wanted as soon as convenient. Your compliance will oblige Yr humble servt,

SAML MOREHEAD.

P. S. If the Savages be gone begone from here, I think they are gone to the settlement.

COL. BRODHEAD.

INDIAN REPORT OF CLARK'S SUCCESS

[John Heckewelder to Col. Daniel Brodhead. 15S196–99. Transcript.]

COOSHOCKING April 28th 1779

The Governor of Detroit after having taken Fort Chubhicking [Vincennes], from the Americans, sent all the Indians who were with him home again, except two of the head men of every nation. A few weeks ago a number of Virginians appeared unexpectedly at said Fort, surrounded it and took it with all what was in it, and the Governor made a prisoner. That the night after the Fort was taken, two Shawanese made their escape out of the same, upon which they the Americans suspecting the Governor hanged him immediately, and killed the rest of the Indians who were in the Fort. That the Virginians sent two men with a large letter, and the war belt they had found by the Governor, over to Kentuck; that these two men were killed by the way by 20 warriors, and the

letter and all taken;[1] that not long after, these twenty warriors (said to be Chippewas and 'Tawas,) were coming along with some stolen horses, and being at last in sight of the fort, hobbled the same on the commons, and march with the death halloo, towards the Fort, upon which the drums began to beat, but the warriors having heard nothing of what had happened, as they had gone out from that place to war—said "our Father rejoices that we are coming again; we shall now be treated well": They then being about half gun shot off, they fired out of the Fort and killed eighteen on the spot, upon which the other two ran off, and brought the letters to the Shawanee towns, where they got a prisoner to read them. But as he could not read well, could make out no more than that the commandant of the Virginians mentioned What he had done, and that he requested a strong reinforcement immediately. The letters are now in the hands of Alex.r M.cKee.[2]

A few days ago three Delawares of the enemys gang, came here: They say after having committed a murder, they made to the Big River, and having finished a canoe there to cross, perceived a batteau and large canoe full of men working up the river, among whom they fired and killed one man, and then ran off. They lost there the scalp and some horses. Another party of Muncies have just come in with two scalps taken at Otter Creek and some horses, and have lost one man.

FRIENDLY DELAWARE MURDERED

[Captain Killbuck and Col. Daniel Brodhead to Hinguapooshes. 1H60. Contemporary transcript.]

HEADQUARTERS PITSBURGH April 28th 1779

Capt.n Killbuck the elder & Maghingua Keeshoch to Maghinguapoos.

Captain Killbuck Says

BROTHER:

Listen to me. The Chiefs that went to Philadelphia left me here at Fort Pitt. If I heard any thing here that conserned you I was

[1] William Myers, Clark's messenger, was killed April 4, about four miles from Louisville on the Kentucky side of the Ohio. This letter gives the Indian report of the occurrence, and goes to show that Clark's men at Vincennes took ample revenge upon the party of Indian warriors.

[2] These letters are now in the British Museum. See *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 164, 303-6.

to inform you of it. Now, I inform you that a young man that was left with me is dead two nights ago. I do not believe that it was upon his own account that he died, but it was upon the Account of a wicked man called James Wooley.

Now *my Friend* I have acquainted you how it happened And desire you to consider that it was that foolish man James Wooley occasioned him to be hurt Consider what to do with him He has bad thoughts or he would not have behaved as he did at this Place

Now *my Father Maghinguapoos* I have told you You must send that Man away from there or he will do harm to us here where we hold a great Chain of Friendship. If he loves bad work let him go to bad Men.

Now you have heard me let him go & join the Mingoes or other bad Nations where bad works are doing

Now *Maghinguapooses* you have heard me I have seen how well he was used & how sorry all the officers Chiefs & others was and how well he was buried, and what great pains was taken for him in his illness.

Now *my Father* the Chiefs that are gone to Philadelphia have wrote to me to let you know that they cannot return so soon as they expected by fifteen Nights and that they were got past Fort Cumberland and that all their Brothers the Americans were very kind to them & treated them well.

Maghingua Keeshoch Says

Brother Maghinguapooses: You have heard what our Brother Captain Killbuck has said to you Now listen to me.

I am exceeding sorry, the young man that is dead was my Son. He was a good Young Man & was possest of a wise Head, And I loved him. Nothing was left untried to save his Life And no man that knew him would have hurt him what happened to him was done in the Night by a drunken Man who thought he struck the bad man James Wooley for threatning to kill the White Men. It is an accident that the Wisest Men could not prevent. As soon as I heard that James Wooley had behaved bad I desired the Chiefs not to suffer their Young Men to be in the Streets after dark, but to send them over the Water or to their Friends Houses.

Brother: I send a Belt to wipe of[f] your tears but none is more grieved than myself And when the Chiefs return from Philad[a]

I shall let them see the Man that hurt my Son who I have confined & in Irons untill he can be punished

I am your Friend & Brother

MAGHINGUA KEESHOCH

NEWS FROM FORT LAURENS

[Maj. Frederick Vernon to Col. Daniel Brodhead. 15S192–94. Summary and transcript.]

FORT LAURENS, Ap^{l} 29th 1779.

He has at present but 2500^{lbs} flour, and 700^{lbs} pork; "we draw 128 rations per day: The greatest part of the pork is not fit for consumption, but necessity obliges us to eat it. Should you not send us provisions in a very short time, necessity will oblige us to begin on some cowhides which the Indians left, which will keep us gnawing two or three days. Our men continue healthy, but almost naked. There is not one pair of shoes in the garrison fit to wear. I have delivered to the officers what few deer skins I had to get them dressed to make moccasins for their men, which cannot be accomplished for want of brains.

"I have had no accounts of any Indians being about, except some small parties who are going to and from some of our settlements. I heard of three who came past Fort Beaver on their way home; they had two scalps and several horses and kept the road all the way to the Moravian Town. Late this afternoon I heard at a small distance from the garrison the scalp halloo given three different times. I apprehend there has been a party of Indians coming from war who had taken three scalps or prisoners."

Then Maj. Vernon gives some Indian news of Col. Clark's recapture of Vincennes, with Gov. Hamilton and his men; that this came from the Muncy Chief, who has just come from Detroit to Sandusky, and who is in the British interest; who also says the English have built a new fort at Detroit in sight of the old one and much stronger.[1] At Sandusky the English and Wyandotts differ; the former want to go to Tuscarawas with their cannon, and the latter have no mind to go with them.

[1] The new fort at Detroit, called Fort Lernoult for the commandant, was begun in the autumn of 1778. It was on the site of the present government building. It was built of thick mud walls with supporting cedar posts, and a glacis of sharpened stakes. See *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, lxxxix.

SIEGE OF FORT HAND

[Col. Archibald Lochry to Col. Daniel Brodhead. 15S194–95. Transcript.]

HANNAHS TOWN 1st May 1779

I rec^{d} y^{r} favor of the 28th by y^{r} express, but am persuaded the account of our party coming up with the rascals had not arrived at your head quarters when the Express set off from you. I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that the party I sent out, overtook the savages, & took from them near £1000 of plunder.

I was out with a party to Fort Hand, & found the enemy had been there, but through the activity & conduct of the officers commanding they were repulsed. It is too true that the enemy has destroyed everything without the fort, & killed all the cattle & hogs they came across. The loss of men, was one killed & two wounded. It is worth mentioning, that while the men were firing out of the Fort, the women were busily employed in running bullets for them.

The following is an account of the damages done in this quarter by the enemy: At Ligonier, one man killed & 2 missing, a number of houses burnt & creatures killed. About three miles from this place, two killed & two missing, & a number of creatures killed & taken off. About the same distance, & on the South of the great road, three men killed & six or seven missing: At this place we took one Indian scalp, & 'tis supposed, wounded some others. At Marshall's, you have an account by Mr Neilly. I have rec^{d} some other information, but cannot inform you with any degree of certainty. I can assure you, there never was so large a number of the enemy in the settlements as evidently appears by their tracks.

[Summary of letter of Col. Archibald Lochry, Hannastown, May 1, 1779, to Pres. Joseph Reed. Printed in *Pa. Archives*, VII, 362.]

Before the arrival of Reed's letter promising aid, Lochry had raised, with the approval of General McIntosh, two ranging companies. Desires commissions for these officers: First Company, Michael Huffnagle, major, Matthew Jack,[1] captain, William

[1] Capt. Matthew Jack belonged to a well-known Westmoreland family. At the outbreak of the Revolution he enlisted as lieutenant in the company

Guthery, lieutenant, George Owry, ensign; Second Company, Nehemiah Stokeley, captain, John Brandon, lieutenant, Thomas Stokeley, ensign.[1] Reports that forty people have been killed and captured this spring, that the savages have been killing the cattle within 300 yards of the town, and that a threatening cloud hangs over the region. Fort Hand was invested a few days ago. The enemy in larger bodies than ever before. Thinks rewards for Indian scalps would be useful. Many public arms have been captured; tools are needed to repair what are left.[2]

[Recollections of James Chambers.[3] 3S81–82.]

In April of '79, as two men were ploughing, adjoining Fort Hand, they were fired on, but both escaped unhurt to the fort. W^m^ M^c^Laughlin & a soldier were the two men. The Indians killed the horses & oxen that were ploughing, & all the cows & sheep about the fort—fired on the fort, & the fort on them. Philip M^c^Graw, a sargeant, an old Irishman, was in a sentry box in which was a crack, through which the Indians shot & killed [him]; & afterwards Sargent M^c^Cauley was slightly wounded at the same spot—after which that sentry box was abandoned. These were the

that afterwards became part of the Eighth Pennsylvania. In the summer of 1776 he lost his left hand by the bursting of a gun, and although promoted, April 13, 1777, to a captaincy, he took in January, 1779 a supernumerary position. Thenceforth his activities were devoted to the protection of the frontiers. In 1782 he was high sheriff of the county, and distinguished himself for heroism at the capture of Hannastown. About the same time he was a member of the Supreme Executive Council of the state, took part in the Whisky Insurrection, and was living in 1835 in his Westmoreland home.

[1] Of these officers Guthrie and Owry were probably related to John Guthrie and Wendell Oury, both of the Eighth Pennsylvania.

Thomas Stokeley was from the Redstone region. In 1776, at the age of eighteen, he entered the Eighth Pennsylvania as a private, was in the New Jersey campaigns, and resigned in 1778. He served as ensign of a militia company in 1779 and in the following years as captain of ranging companies. In 1781 he was captured, while on Lochry's expedition and carried to Canada, whence he escaped and in 1782 reached his home. In later life he settled in Washington County, Pa., served in the state assembly and senate and died in the summer of 1824. Dr. Draper interviewed his son in 1845. See Draper Mss., 31J59-62.

[2] For Reed's reply to this letter see *Pa. Archives*, VII, 430-32. The commissions of the officers are in *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, XI, 273.

[3] For James Chambers see *Frontier Defense*, 41, note 82.

only persons killed or wounded in the fort. The Indians stayed all that day & the ensuing night, & left the next morning, probably fearing the neighboring settlements would come in force to the relief of the fort. Capt. Samuel Moorehead (who had married a sister of Col. Laughery's [Lochry]) commanded the company stationed at Fort Hand, & Wm Jack, afterwards Judge Jack, was his Lieutenant.[1] Every 2 hours the sentry was relieved, & the cry "all's well" would be announced: During the night the Indians were there, they fired a deserted house near the fort,—the old building of M^c^Kibben's[2] which had been for some time occupied by W^m^ M^c^Laughlin, but deserted on the approach of the Indians: There were many whites with the Indians—who now taunted the fort people when the house was burning, and asked if all was well now? This party of British & Indians was large—was not pursued, being too strong. Don't know who commanded them—nor their loss, if any. In the fall of '79 Fort Hand was abandoned.

THE DELAWARES AT PHILADELPHIA

[Col. George Morgan to the Delaware chiefs. 1H74. D. S.]

From PRINCETON May the 2^d^ 1779

Taymenand To Caleylamont & the other wise Delawares, on a visit to the United States

BROTHERS:

I am sorry to tell you sickness prevents my meeting you at Philadelphia to wipe the sweat from your Bodies and pick the thorns out of your feet, after the fatigues of your long Journey—this wise custom of our ancestors m[ust] be postponed untill I see you here where I desire you will proceed without delay & repose yourselves at my Country House untill you refresh yourselves sufficiently to proceed to Buisiness. For this purpose I have wrote to Capt Dodge and sent him a request to the Board of War of the United States to s[u]pply you with Cloathing & to procure a Vessel to convey you into Trenton & Horses from then[c]e to my House.

Brother Caleylamont: I am not inform'd what other Chiefs are with you, but I rely on you & them to prevent your young men

[1] For William Jack see *ibid.*, 69, note 32. There were but seventeen in the garrison to withstand over one hundred besiegers.

[2] For this house, near which Fort Hand was built, see *ibid.*, 41.

from drinking too much untill you arive at my House where you will find every thing necessary to make your young Men happy. So soon as you and they are sufficiently rested I will proceed with you first to his Excellency General Washington and then to Congress on the important Business you have come upon. Make no Delay in Philadelphia—bring Sullivan with with you, as you know he is a person you can depend upon Cap[t] Dodge & the persons he has brought to wait on you will also accompany you & will provide you with every necessary on the Road.

TAIMENEND.

[Board of War to the Delaware chiefs. 1H81. Contemporary transcript.][1]

BRETHREN:

Congress have committed to us the great superintendancy of the War, and as too many Indians are concerned in it, indian business is also a part of our duty. We wish the rest of the Nations had behaved themselves in the friendly and strict manner you have done, for then we should have no other buisiness with them but to do them good offices; which we shal[l] be always happy in affording you.

Brethren: We are not authorized to speak to you in the name of Congress; but we have inform'd them of your arival, and they will take proper measures in consequence of our information. For o[u]rselves, we bid you welcome, and by this string pull out the thorns from your feet, and wipe the dust from your Eyes and ears, that you may see clearly the councillors Congress may appoint to speak to you, and distinctly hear what they have to say to you.

A string.

Brethren: We deliver you a message from your good friend Taimenend who who in his great desire to see you that he may be kind to you, has forgot that it will be necessary for you to repose your selves here a day or two, after your long journey. Whensoever we have suplied you with some necessaries which he has requested us to do in behalf of Congress who have entrusted us with the keys of their store houses, we will (unless Congress should chuse to detain you for a longer time and you wish to stay) have

[1] This document is undated. The context shows it to have been written between May 2 and May 8, 1779.

every thing prepared for your journey to our great and good Warrier Genaral Washington who will receive you with that tenderness and friendship which distinguished [his] charecter.

FORT LAURENS MAINTAINED

[Extract of a letter from Gen. Lachlan McIntosh to Gen. George Washington. 15S191. Transcript.]

CAMP 3d May, 1779.

When all the men and horses were collected at Beaver Creek, and before I marched for Muskingum, I called Col. Lochry, Lieutenant of Westmoreland county, Col. Shepherd, Lieutenant, and Col. Hedges,[1] of Ohio, Col. Cox[2] and Colo Crawford of Youghiagania County, Col. Brodhead, Lt. Col. Campbell, Majr Vernon and Taylor (now returned) and informed them I had not horses enough to carry a sufficient quantity of provisions for the number

[1] Col. Silas Hedges was born in Frederick County, W. Va., Dec. 2, 1736. About the year 1770 he removed to the Redstone region, and in 1773 settled on Buffalo Creek in Brooke County, W. Va., where he died at the family homestead, May 17, 1811. He was a cousin of Col. David Shepherd, whom he succeeded as colonel of militia when the latter was promoted, in 1778, to the lieutenancy of Ohio County. Colonel Hedges participated in Dunmore's War; served on the Committee of Safety in 1776; was present at the siege of Wheeling in 1777; and aided in burying the dead after Foreman's defeat. During all the Indian wars he was useful in collecting and directing militia. He resigned his office in 1789 because of old age and infirmities. His wife was Margaret, sister of Derrick Hoagland. Two of their sons were eminent in the spy and ranging service. Dr. Draper interviewed several of their surviving descendants. See Draper Mss., 2S49-55, 9S122-64.

[2] The Cox family, of Swedish descent, originally settled in Maryland. Early in the seventeenth century Reuben Cox removed to the south branch of the Potomac where his sons, Gabriel, George, Isaac, and others were born. Colonel Isaac's birth occurred about the year 1756. The family removed to the West about the year 1773 and settled in Hancock County, W. Va., near the Pennsylvania line. Isaac Cox was made captain of militia, and in 1776 commanded the fort at Holliday's Cove. In 1777 he became lieutenant-colonel of Yohogania County militia, with his brother Gabriel as major. On Oct. 25, 1779 Isaac asked the county court for a passport to enable him to remove with his family to Kentucky. There he settled Cox's Station, in what was later Nelson County. In 1781 he was delegate from Jefferson County to the Virginia assembly; and was a member of three of the Kentucky conventions antecedent to statehood. During the latter part of the Indian wars he was killed by Indians, leaving no descendants.

of men I thought necessary to garrison Fort Laurens, and desired their advice upon the occasion, as they were so much concerned: They repeated the reasons already given for maintaining the post, and were all, except Maj. Taylor, of the opinion that one hundred men were sufficient to secure it until another supply of provision could be sent there. The moment I arrived at Fort Laurens, I disclosed to Cols. Gibson, Crawford, Cox, Shepherd, Hedges, Lochry, Campbell, Major Vernon and Capt. Clark of the 8th Regt, my intention of striking a sudden blow at the Wyandott Towns with the provisions we had, instead of leaving it at Fort Laurens, which they unanimously opposed.

[Gen. George Washington to Col. Daniel Brodhead. Washington Papers. Draft.]

HEAD Q^RS MIDDLE BROOK May 3^d 1779

D^R SIR:

I have been favoured with your Letter of the 3^d Ulto, with it's several Inclosures. I wrote you on the 21st of April & some days before the receipt of it, that I had relinquished the idea of attempting a co-operation between the Troops at Fort Pitt and the bodies moving from other Quarters against the Six nations and assigned the reasons. Lest this Letter should have miscarried by any accident, I now enclose you a copy—and you will consider it as a Letter of Instructions, as far as it extends.

I have written to the Board of War on the subject of Cloathing and Money for the Troops under your command—and I am persuaded they will use their endeavours to furnish such supplies, as may be in their power.

It has been the misfortune of Many Officers in captivity to have been overlooked by their States, who had the power of all regimental appointments, which seems to have been the case with respect to Mr Broadhead. Had he been appointed in the line, after so long an absence from you I should not have refused him the opportunity of paying you a visit; but as he has not, there can not be a possibility of objection on my part.

With respect to Fort Laurens—both this and Fort McIntosh appear to be material Posts—and I could wish them to be sufficiently garrisoned and the former well supplied with provision that it may not be liable to fall through want & in case of an attack

before it can be relieved Those as I have said, I wish to be sufficiently garrisoned; but I do not mean that the Troops should be exposed to loss—as such an event would involve the most disagreeable consequences; and to prevent it—the most pointed and vigilant attention should be paid to the movements and preparations on the part of the Enemy; as an investiture with the Artillery would most probably if not certainly end in their destruction, if a sufficient force could not be assembled timously to prevent the Inves[ti]ture. And besides those two posts—I think it will be material for you if circumstances will permit to establish one, as soon as possible at Kittaning—and another at Venango. Those would not only afford protection to Westmorel[d] County but hold for the appearances of an expedition up the Alligany—and drawing the attention of the Senecas in some measure that way—would make them more vulnerable in other quarters and of course countenance the progress of our Troops in the points of real attack. If the state of things will not authorise the establishing of both—yet it may that at Kittaning. But your conduct upon this as well as many other occasions must be governed by circumstances.

It is of importance most certainly to preserve the friendship of the Indians who have not taken up the Hatchet—and I am persuaded no address or means in your power will be wanting to this end. Unhappily our circumstances will not admit of our making them such presents as I could wish—and which possibly might effectually secure their friendship—or at least their neutrality

With respect to a Deputy Adj[t] General or an Inspector— it does not appear to me— that such Officers are essential in the Western department at this [time] The force there is too small to require the former—and the mode of war, being of the partizan & desultory kind, does not render the latter very material nor would y[e] duties of y[e] officer be practicable dispersed as the Troops will [be] Those considerations added to the necessity of the strictest public economy at this crises in all our affairs are opposed to such appointments. As to a Deputy Paymaster & Muster Master the appointments are not with me. I will mention them to the Board of War—who will pursue measures I doubt not for filling the vacancies.

I have no Commissions they all issue now from the Board of War—on arrangements and Lists previously returned to them.

I have nothing interesting to inform you of. The Armament in the West Indies are considerable on both sides; but as yet nothing has happened—or at least nothing has reached us.

I am Dr Sir Y^r Most Obed^t Servt

[GEORGE WASHINGTON]

COL° BROADHEAD

P. S. I must request your particular care & attention to the Batteaux & Boats that may be provided so that that they may not be injured lost or separated [by] a common use of them. For altho we do not know the precise time when they may be wanted —the occasion may be sudden—and it would not answer to have them to collect &c.

P. S. I have just now received a report that Col° Vansc[h]aick who commands at Fort Schuyler formerly Fort Stanwix had made a sudden & successful irruption into the Onondaga Country—had burnt one of their Towns—killed 15 Men on the spot and brought off 30 prisoners.[1]—I have not as yet received the particulars thro an Official channel—but it is certain he has made a successful expedition and taken prisoners—A Letter from Genl Clinton of the State of New York announces this—and adds that as General Schuyler had promised to transmit me the particulars he would not do it—Genl Schuylers Letter has not reached me. This tribe has been very hostile and has met with the chastisements they deserved.

WESTERN OPERATIONS REPORTED

[Extract of a letter from Col. Daniel Brodhead to Gen. George Washington. 15S189–90. Transcript.]

F^t PITT, May 3^d 1779.

One of the privates of the 13th V. Reg^t has maliciously killed one of the best young men of the Delaware nation, and I fear the consequences will be bad to the innocent inhabitants. I have the fel-

[1] This Onondaga expedition of Col. Goose Van Schaick occurred April 19-24, 1779. With 558 men the expedition moved down Wood Creek and Oneida Lake, took thirty-eight prisoners, and killed twelve Indians. Van Schaick had served under Sir William Johnson in the French and Indian War. In 1775 he was chosen colonel and commanded the first New York battalion throughout the war. At its close he was brevetted brigadier-general. He died at his home in Albany, July 4, 1789. For the conduct of the Onondaga expedition he received the official thanks of Congress.

low confined, but cannot try him for want of a field officer, &c. Several parties have been assembled to murder the Delaware chiefs now on their way to Philadelphia: Should they effect their malicious purpose, there will be an end to negotiation, and a general war with the Savages will be the inevitable consequence of their barbarity.

Great numbers of the inhabitants are daily moving down the Ohio to Kentucky and the Falls which greatly weakens the frontier.

Two spies are gone into the Seneca country several days ago— one of them is a white man who speaks their language very well, and the other is a Delaware Indian.

Fort Laurens will be evacuated the 25th instant, and I expect all the stores will be brought off.

I shall be happy if we can move by the first of June. My men have worn out their shoes, and their feet in scouting after the Indians but with little success hitherto. I have heard where the Mingoes and Muncys have their grand rendezvous about fifteen miles above Kittanning, and hope to give a good account of them a few days hence.

[Extract of a letter from Col. Daniel Brodhead to Gen. George Washington. 15S196, 198. Transcript.]

PITTSBURG May 4, 1779.

I am just now fitting out about 150 men to escort a small quantity of salt provisions to Fort Laurens: Indeed, I cannot send a larger party as the Indians are at present very troublesome on the frontiers of Westmoreland, and a larger party would consume all the salt provisions on the March— for fresh, I have none, save a little flour, to supply them with. * * *

The spies I sent to the Seneca country are not yet returned. I sent two white men up the Alleghany to reconnoitre the Indians supposed rendezvous a little above Kittanning, and they heard so much firing, and saw so many Indian tracks, they could not proceed to that place. And now two trusty Delawares have offered their services to go and bring me the necessary information.

[Enclosed in preceding]

Heckewelder writes: I heard a few days ago that a party of warriors had killed two men and taken one prisoner at or near Fort M°Intosh.[1]

[Big Cat to Col. Daniel Brodhead. 2H6–9. Letter Book.]

COOCHOCKING May 4th[s] 1779

BROTHER:

last night my messengers which carried your Speech to the Wyondots returned again with an answer which I send now to you

Brother: I will now inform you of what I hear is going on at the Wyondot Town, there are ten of the English there with 4 pieces of Cannon who are going to fight against you, there are also Some Indians who have Joined them, but I Cannot just know the Number, these English are preparing against Fort Lawrence, they have at Several times Set up thick timber, dug deep in the ground and with rails pinned across at the top, then brought their Cannon at a distance and Shot with Bullets Chained together at the same, knocked great holes through, They tell the Indians now so we will do when we come to Tuscorawas, we will soon knock that Fort all to Pieces.

Brother: The Wyondots have informed me as a fact, that their father (the Gov[r] of Detroit) is taken prisoner By the Virginians, The Virginians having taken the Fort at or near Chubhicking on Miami River and every thing in it, likewise they say that the Virginians had executed Several of the Prisoners, Some of the Wyondots who come Straight from that place know this to be true.

Brother: The reason why no Immediate answer was given to your late request was, as I have been waiting all this time for my Messengers to return first from the Wyondots and then to do all the business at once.

Brother: it is Impossible for me at present to send two of my

[1] This information from Heckewelder appears to have been a postscript to his letter of April 28, printed *ante*, 295. It is dated May 4, 1779, the time of its enclosure to Washington.

[2] This date upon the document refers to the letter of Brodhead in which it was enclosed. It was written at Coshocton, April 28, 1779.

Men to you for the business you Mentioned to me, as I am a little afraid hearing of the Enemy being about to fight you at Tuscorawas, and again my young men are not willing to lay about there so long for nothing but as Soon as you will be ready to go, only let me know it, and they Shall Soon be with you and go also with you.

Brother: The Messengers are not yet Ret[d] from the Shawanese, but as soon as they come I will inform you of the whole. This I have heard, that both the Wyondots and Shawanese are about Stopping their Men from going with the English against Fort Lawrence but of the Mingoes I know nothing.

Brother: I desire you to apply to the bearer our Brother Nanowland for further News, he can tell you more what I have heard, but which I did not care to write.

The Powder and lead I rec[d] this day.

I am your friend and Brother

HINGUAPOOSHEES

[Half King to Col. Daniel Brodhead. 2H4–5. Letter Book.]

A Speech delivered by the half King at Sandusky in answer to a Speech sent to him by Col° Brodhead

BROTHERS THE VIRGINIANS:

I am very glad to hear from my Brothers the Virginians and that they have called me to come to them at Fort Pitt.

Brothers: Although I do not yet at present know what is in the letter you have sent to me, yet I rejoice to see something from you. I have taken care of the letter and sent it to my chief over the lake where I expect it will be rec[d] well. My Chieffs heared already Something before from our Brothers the Virginians and I shall also remind them again and assist them in Considering that work, all I can Say at present is to desire you to have yet a little patience as my father the english is yet in my Way, in nine days time you shall receive a positive answer from my Chieff.[1]

Brothers: Now I have told you my mind, I shall deliver this Speech to my Chieffs with whom after having heard him I shall Join, and nothing at all shall hinder me no more in going Straighte-

[1] For an account of the reception of the American message at the Huron village on Detroit River ("over the lake"), see *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, I, 434-35.

way to my Brothers the Virginians I will go Straight along and take no notice of any thing which might appear in my way

Brothers: I shall not concern in any thing any more what my father does or is about to do but shall take the straight Road to you when I once get up

To Col.° Brodhead, Comd[e] West[n] Dept.

VALUE OF OFFENSIVE MEASURES

[Col. Daniel Brodhead to Gen. George Washington. Washington Papers. A. L. S.]

Fort Pitt May 6th 1779

Dear General:

I had just closed my Letter of the 3rd instant when I was honoured with your Instructions of the 21st last Month.

Every necessary preparation for evacuating Fort Laurens was already made in obedience to your former Instructions, and how to support it I know not. I can take no Salt Provisions from here without robbing the artificers & the few Troops on the Frontier of eleven Barrels of Pork just now arrived under Escort of the Boat Builders I mentioned in my last, nor have I a single pound of fresh meat to issue to them, untill some lean Cattle arrive which are sent for a considerable distance into the Country. The throwing in of supplies to Fort Laurens is always attended with great expence and a large escort is required to guard the Provisions which are necessary to subsist a Garrison at so great a distance in the Enemies Country without the benefit of water carriage and in the mean time the Frontiers must be uncovered and the Countrymen called out from their Farms. Should live Cattle be drove to that Post the Enemy may either drive them off for their future Consumption or destroy them when they please to do it and consequently the Garrison must suffer. Besides it is an easy matter for the Enemy to come against it with a couple of pieces of artillery and a number of their Black & White Savages by way of Kayahaga and make themselves Masters of it before the siege could be raised.

I am very well assured that most of the hostilities committed on this Frontier by the Mingoes & Munceys who are numerous & live on the main branch of the Alleghany, and the Western

Indians except the Shawnese are generally quiet. Both those could soon be chastised from this place, Had I one thousand good men with permission & resources I should be happy to give those up the River a sudden blow and drive them to a greater distance & immediately proceed by water to the Shawnese Towns on Scioto about eighty miles from Detroit in a fine level Country abounding with Herbage and of easy Portage & after chastising the Shawnese proceed to Detroit in the proper season. and was another Body in the mean time to make themselves Masters of the carrying places between the Lakes Erie & Ontario so as to prevent Supplies being thrown into Niagara It is my Humble Opinion we should soon be Masters of Lake Erie & all the Garrisons thereabouts. But your Excellency is far the best Judge of these matters and [it] is and ever shall be my chief study to execute your plans.

Nine white pine Canoes have been taken up by the Scouts within the last fortnight, some of them are large enough to carry thirty Men each, but the Enemy have rendered them unfit for Service. These canoes are supposed to come from the Mingoe Towns on Alleghany River.

The Wyondots are respected by the western Indian Nations as much as the six nations are by the Northern, because they withstood the attacks of of the five Nations in their most warlike times & I believe they have caused most of the Western Nations to remain quiet.

The Troops here are fairly worn out with constant scouting on the frontier but with their best efforts they cannot prevent the Enemy from driving off the Inhabitants.

The Shoes sent up by the Cloathier Gen[l] are worn out by a scout in the course of a week and Deerskins are held exceeding high I sincerely wish a deputy cloathier was appointed for this Department

I beg your Excellencies leave to make one more observation, from experience I believe it to be much easier to protect the Inhabitants by carrying the War into the Indian Country with one thousand men than with three times that number stationed at different Forts or even ranging on the frontier

I sincerely wish that my remarks which proceed from a hearty desire to afford you every assistance in my power may not offend, if they should, a single word will be a sufficient rebuke.

With every mark of the greatest regard & esteem I have the Honor to be your Excellencies most obed[t] & Hble Serv[t]

DANIEL BRODHEAD

HIS EXCELLENCY GEN[L] WASHINGTON

FORT LAURENS PROVISIONED

[Col. Daniel Brodhead to Maj. Frederick Vernon and others. 1NN66.[1] Summary and transcript.]

May 9th, 1779

Mr. Morrison[2] who has arrived from Fort Laurens assures me, the garrison has nothing now but a small quantity of flour to subsist on, and that will last them but a few days. [I am] preparing to go and bring off the garrison, [has written] to Colonels Lochry, Evans, Shepherd, and John Stevenson for aid, men, and horses with 10 days provisions; and calls in several small garrisons. So far as calling in militia aid is concerned, the above orders were, May 10th, countermanded, and some provisions to be sent under a small escort of regulars to Major Vernon, and adds "I intended to have relieved you, but there are many reasons why I can not do it at present, but expect me to be out in force that way very soon." Cautions Major Vernon not to let the commissary again deceive [him] as to the state of the provisions by false returns: "Capt. Brady and Ensign Morrison will be relieved by Capt. ——— and Ensign ———."

[1] When Dr. Draper was at Harrisburg, Pa., in the autumn of 1851 he was permitted to use a letter book in the possession of Col. R. M. Crain of that city, which had been given the latter by General Brodhead himself. Draper made extensive transcripts from this volume, unfortunately using summaries in some places for the exact text. Two other letter books of Brodhead for the same years (1779, 1780, 1781) are in existence— one of these was discovered in the office of the surveyor-general of Pennsylvania, and has been published in *Pa. Archives*, XII, 106-279; the other was in the possession of Col. Andrew J. Foulk of Kittanning, Pa., a descendant of Colonel Brodhead. Colonel Foulk loaned the volume to Dr. Draper in 1846, who copied it. Draper Mss., 3H. All these sources will be used in this and later volumes on the history of the upper Ohio.

[2] James Morrison was ensign of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment from Dec. 21, 1778 to Jan. 1, 1781.

DELAWARE CHIEFS AT PRINCETON

[Col. George Morgan to Gen. George Washington. Washington Papers. Contemporary transcript.]

PRINCETON May 9th 1779

SIR:

The Delaware chiefs appointed by their nation to transact all business with the united States are now at my house—They are desirous to make known to your Excellency their situation—and the situation of Indian affairs in general to the Westward, before they do it to Congress This they wish to do in person, if you please to appoint a time for them to wait on you either at your own quarters, or in the neighbourhood of camp.—There are three chiefs—they have eleven attendants—a part or the whole will wait upon you as your Excellency may direct—I can manage matters so as they shall arrive at any appointed hour—And as what they have to say will be committed to writing it will take up the less of your time. As they have thrown asside the use of wampum they will wish to be indulged with your Excellency's written answer. As the disposition of this nation has been and is of infinite consequence to the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania I have thought I could not render to my country a more important service than to attend with these chiefs on your Excellency. They have brought three of their sons to place at school under my care, as a testimony of their disposition towards us, and they would very willingly encrease this number. I shall wait your Excellency's answer &c

GEO. MORGAN

P. S. I have thought it proper to inclose to your Excellency the original address of the Delaware Indians

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SUGGESTED WITHDRAWAL FROM WEST

[Gen. John Armstrong to Gen. George Washington. Washington Papers. A. L. S.]

PHILADELPHIA 10th May 1779

DEAR GENERAL:

Necessarily as now you must be led to consider on the one hand, the various distributions of your Army, I mean the Seneca or

Northern Expedition—Some force at Fort Pitt, together wt^h the Representation of Governor Green on behalf of the Providence Plantations & adjacent Country which stands exposed to the contrasted force of the Enemy at Rhode Island—and on the other, the intelligence of Mr Gerrard respecting the return of the Count D^e Estaing to our Coasts, with a resolution of this day, throwing into your hands entirely & afresh the military operations of the opening Campaign, to vary or even recind, former determinations at pleasure, a step this however honorary & confidential it may be, that might in present Circumstances inevitably embarrass y^r Excellency.[1] Indeed Sir I conceive that at best you have only a choice of difficulties, but as that too frequently has been y^r case and support vouchsafed, the same fountain is open still & unexhausted; here (using the very best means we can) must all our expectations rest, for truly Sir were you now in the American Cabinet instead of the field, an anxious & distressed witness of our conduct, your hopes resulting thence must be low indeed: I do not so much complain of the subject matter as of the infatuated manner of doing business, whereby delay alone is sufficient to defeat us—I mean more particularly the state of our money.

Being clearly of opinion that our Army ought to be respectable on the Sea Coasts this Summer, it is to be regretted that some Militia from several states has not by one means or another been provided to have joined y^r troops destined to the Northward, whereby a smaller number of the latter might have served the purpose. The Northern design I consider clearly indispensible, as without it the combined force of Indians, Tories, and not improbably, troops from some part of Canada must fall on Pennsylvania ags^t which every stroke from the Northward has been directed since July last—whereby great devastation, loss of property & blood has ensued. The Northern affair cannot be well conducted without skill p[ru]dence, firmness & strength—an unwieldy or impeding appa[ra]tus is ags^t the success. As the neighbourhood of Fort Pitt is n[ot] threatened that I know of, will not the leaving it's defence to [the] Militia of that Country for two or three months, be a less risque to the service generally, than either that the Commander of the Expedition shou'd prove weak, or your

[1] A resolution of Congress, May 10, 1779: "*Ordered*, That a copy of the said letter [of the French minister, Gérard] be transmitted to the Commander in Chief, and that he consider himself at liberty so to direct the military operations of these states as shall appear to him most expedient." *Jour. of Cont. Cong.*, XIV, 568.

Army be too much str[ain]ed to make him strong? if so may not Coll° Broadhead's Reg^t be brought over the Hills to join at Wioming or low[er] on the Susquehanah, on this footting one Reg^t tho' perhaps small^r still remain at Fort Pitt, if time permited I cou'd support this idea with some argument but am content with only throwing it into view, if peradventure some relief may be derived from it. I shall use every effort in my power with the Council of this state for some Volunteer Militia or otherwise, the Council are willing but in every of the States, the Militia, are become calos or something else.

I have the honor to be Dear General Your Excellencys invariable and humb^l serv^t

JOHN ARMSTRONG

GENERAL WASHINGTON

The officer who Commands has alwais an influence on drawing forth Volunteers or the Contrary, but I know the delicacy of applying this Idea in the present instance & therefore—

WESTERN POSTS TO BE MAINTAINED

[Gen. George Washington to Col. Daniel Brodhead. Washington Papers. Draft.]

HEAD QUARTERS MIDDLEBROOK 10th May 1779.

D^r SIR:

Your favor of the 17th ultimo came duly to hand.

I think it not unlikely that the resolve of Maryland may stop the march of Rawlings' broken regiment.[1] In making your arrangements therefore you will not place much dependance on this reinforcement.

You will be enabled by referring to my last letters of the 21st of April and 3 instant to judge of my sentiments respecting the garrison at Fort Laurens—The continuance of which I have said must depend upon the support you can give it, and the resistance it is capable of making against field artillery if there is any probability of these being employd ag^t it. If it is concluded on to hold this post no time should be lost to render it cannon proof. In the mean time all useless stores, or such as are not necessary to com-

[1] This would appear to be the resolve passed by the Maryland House of Delegates, Mar. 26, 1779, consolidating parts of its forces into one regiment. See *Archives of Maryland*, XXI, 339.

plete its defence should be withdrawn—But whether this is to be accomplished by horses or craft sent him for that purpose can only be determined with propriety by those on the spot.

From a general consideration of circumstances and situation I am induced to give Fort M°Intosh the preference as to covering the country—It appears to me also as the most advantagious post in case of offensive operations because of its being so far advanced on the frontier—As to its serving to keep up an idea of hostility, the argument is not to be admitted unless Fort Laurens should be also deserted.

You speak uncertainly with regard to evacuating Canhawa; I am Not sufficiently informed in the principles on which it has been established nor of its real importance relative to the cover it affords y° Inhabitants. I am at at a loss what to advise—I can only propose a close comparison of the alarm an evacuation would occasion with the advantages which may be derived from the garrison in case it should be withdrawn. This reasoning will apply to the smaller posts in general, the utility of which you seem to suggest as less profitable than the purpose to which their troops could be emplowed. In the gross I agree with you in prefering patroling parties to a number of small garrisons—and to employing these in irruptions whenever it can be attempted with a moral certainty of success.

I shall endeavour to find some french officer answering your description—and mention to the board of war your request for a few swivels. At this juncture you will not suffer much by a want of ingeneers.

If the companies raising in Westmoreland and Monongahala counties are not in forwardness, or if they should not appear to be essentially useful, I would have them dismissed—We are not over burthened with provisions nor should we venture to increase our public expences except in cases unavoidable.

For similar reasons Cap[n] Heth's company must be kept strictly to its duty, or be immediately dismissed. I cannot see the public imposed on, or the purposes for which men were raised perverted. I am much obliged to you for your attention to these matters.

Cap[n] Sample has received a warrant for 20,000 dollars for the recruiting service. The officers on this business will observe that the men of one State are not inlisted into the regiments of another. —This supply I hope will not come in a bad time, and will assist in filling up your regiment.—I imagine you have been misinformed

relative to Virginia giving by a Law of the State 14 or 1500 dollar bounty for an 18 months enlistment. However if the men should not enlist freely the money must be employed to other occasions (such for instance as pay for the regiment) as it is difficult to obtain the requisite supplies.

You seem to be so well acquainted with the policy of cultivating and preserving a good understanding with the Delawares and other well disposed Indians as to render any thing in addition to what I have said in my last letter unnecessary,—I wish we had in our hands a sufficiency of such articles as have weight with these people in directing their arms, or conciliating their friendship. But when these are not [to] be be procured we must use the best means in our power to effect these purposes.

I cannot conclude without recommending the strictest oeconomy in all your conduct & operations—you may be assured it has become indispensably necessary, & that you cannot pursue more effectual means of recommending yourself to public favor or thanks than by an attention to its interests at this period of its affairs.—I earnestly recommend that the Batteaux & other vessels which are built for public use be held in a manner sacred otherwise they will get dissipated & when the moment arrives that they will be wanted none will be found.

I am D Sir &c

G. W.

COL. BRODHEAD

DELAWARE CHIEFS IN EAST

[Speech of Delawares to Washington and Congress.[1] 1H75–77. D. S.]

May 10th. 1779

The Delaware Nation by their Chief Men, chosen for that purpose, beg leave to represent to the United States of America in Congress assembled, & to his Excellency General Washington as follows—

[1]Several of the documents connected with the Delawares' eastern visit are in the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Publications*, XIII, *Transactions*, 1910–11, 260–65. The Indians' speech we publish from the Draper Mss.

1th That at their several Treaties with the Commissioners of Congress & with the Agent for the United States held at Pittsburgh in the years 1775, 1776, & 1777, the said Nation was solicited, and they agreed to renew and strengthen their Friendship with the Inhabitants of the said States under their present Revolution and Government. This Friendship the said Nation have preserved inviolate; observing a strict Neutrality between the United States and Britain, agreeable to the repeated Recommendation of Congress through their Commissioners and Agent as aforesaid notwithstanding the unprovoked Injuries they have repeatedly received, which they have been willing to attribute to ill designing ignorant Men & not to any evil Intentions of the United States or any of them, or their Officers.

2d That when Congress and the Delaware Nation renewed their Friendship, as above mentioned, the former promised, & engaged to supply the latter, in Exchange for their Peltries, with Cloathing and other Goods; which from Custom have become absolutely necessary for the Subsistance of their Women and Children. This Engagement has been renewed on the party [*sic*] of Congress at four different Treaties successively, without ever having been complied with in any degree, whereby the said Delaware Nation have become poor & naked and are now reduced to such extremity as to induce them to send the undermentioned Chiefs, & Councellors of their Nation to represent in person their Situasion to Congress & to his Excellency General Washington that they may receive a certainty whether or not their Necessities can be relieved & their several Requests complied with, or whether they must look to the English alone for the supplies of all their Wants.

3d That the Delaware Nation have ever been, dureing the present War betwen Brittain and the United States, & still are of opinion, that it is their Interest & the Interest of the United States that the said Nation should observe the strictest Neutrality; which Neutrality they are determined to maintain, so long as in their Power, agreeable to the wise recommendation of Congress; & they hope and expect that Congress & his Excellency Genaral Washington will give such orders as will prevent any further Infringment of the Friendship & Alliance subsisting betwen the Delaware Nation and the United States of America, [a]greeable to the Treaties at Fort Pitt before mentioned.

4th That the said Delaware Nation have on the Invita[t]ion of Congress by their Commissioners & Agent, sent down three Children of their principal Chiefs to be placed at School by Congress.[1] These Children if they live, and imp[r]ove the Advantages offerd to them will naturally have great Interest & Influence in the Councills of the said Nation who therefore wish them to be educated accordingly & for this favour we beg leave to be obligated to the Wisdom and Genarosity of Congress alone. And should it be agreeabl[e] to Congress, we are ready to increase the number in order that our Nation may the sooner and more efectually be brought to embrace civilized Life, & become one Peopl[e] with our Brethren of the United States. The Delaware Nation think they cannot give more ample Testimony than this, of their firm Resolution to continue an inviolate Friendship with the United States of America to the end of time; and for this desirable purpose the said Delaware Nation repeatedly applyed to Congress through their Commissioners & Agent, for School Masters and Mistresses to be sent among them, & for useful Tradesmen and Husbandmen

[1] These three boys were George White Eyes, aged eight, son of the chief, Captain White Eyes; John Killbuck, aged sixteen, son of Captain Killbuck; and Thomas, aged eighteen, half-brother of Captain Killbuck. Their experiences at Princeton form an interesting chapter in the history of attempts to civilize the American Indians. Thomas did not prove to be "academic." Accordingly he was apprenticed to a farmer to learn farming and the blacksmith trade. He also learned other less valuable things, and became somewhat dissipated. In 1783 he was very "homesick" and petitioned Congress to be allowed to return to his tribe. Meanwhile John Killbuck, living at Colonel Morgan's, made good progress with his studies. He contracted, however, a clandestine alliance with a serving maid, which was later legalized. In 1784 John petitioned to return to his people; finally, in October, 1785, both Thomas and John, with the latter's wife and child, were sent to their tribal home. In 1810 Congress granted a pension to the chief, Killbuck, and a rifle to each of his sons. After the father's death in 1811, John Killbuck became chief of the tribe; he lived on White River, Indiana, and was exemplary in morals, and faithful to one wife. For an account of his later years see Draper Mss., 11YY30.

George White Eyes had a longer academic experience than the two Killbucks. He remained at Princeton until 1788, living for the most part at Colonel Morgan's. In 1783 it was reported that his progress had equaled all expectations, and that he was about ready to enter college. In 1788 Morgan declined to be longer responsible for young White Eyes, and after a short time in New York he drifted back to his tribe in the West. He had acquired the vices as well as the virtues of civilization. In 1798 while drunk and attacking a white lad on Beaver Creek, Pa., he was killed. See Draper Mss., 9S175, 16S288. The relations of these Indians to the college is narrated in Princeton University, *Bulletin*, XIII, 101-6.

to instruct the Youth of their Nation in useful Arts: These, tho expensive at present, may in time be fully repaid to the United States in many respects.

5th That the said Delaware Nation have established a Town where numbers of them have embraced Christianity under the Instruction of the Reverend and worthy Mr David Ziesberger whose honest zealous Labours & good Examples have Induced many of them to listen to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which has been a means of introducing considerable order, Regularity and love of Peace into the Minds of the whole Nation—the[y] therefore hope Congress will countenance & promote the Mission of this Gentleman, so far as they may deem expedient; and they may rely that the Delaware Nation will afford every encouragement thereto in their Power.

6th That in the year 1778 Genaral Mcln[t]osh and the Commissioners of Congress put a War Belt & Tomhawk into the Hands of the said Delaware Nation & induced some of their Chiefs to sign certain Writings, which to them were perfectly unintelligible & which they have since found were falsely interpreted to them & contain'd Declarations and Engagements they never intended to make or enter into. The said Delaware Nation have since return'd the said Tomhawk and Belt into the Hands of the Agent for the United States and desir'd him to bury them as they have created great confusion among Us & drove off two hundred of our Peopl[e] into the Neighbourhood of the English. But as the Agent of Congress has now buried the said Tomhawk and Belt so as never to rise again, the Delaware Nation promise to bring back their People to their own Towns on Muskingham. This Tomhawk and Belt were well driving our our whole Nation off but by a timely message from Congress we are de[te]rmined to sit still untill we know their Minds further on this Business.

7th That as a free and Independant People (which the Delaware Nation have ever Declared them selves to be) they claime as their sole Property all the Lands they have long Inhabited and Hunted on, contain'd within the following Boundaries—Viz[t]—From the mouth of the Alegany River at Fort Pitt to Venango & from thence up French Creek & by Labeuf along the old Road to Presque' Isle *on the East* The Ohio River Includeing all the Islands in it from Fort Pitt to the Wabachee *on the South.* Thence up the River Wabache to that Branch call'd Opecomeecah[1] and up the same to the Head

[1] The Opecomeecah is the White River of Indiana, an eastern tributary of the Wabash. Upon Franquelin's map of 1684 it is designated, "Oiapikaming," a word signifying "white" in the Algonquian dialects. A portion of the Delaware

of it, & from thence to the Head Waters & Springs of the Great Miami or Rocky River, thence across to the Head Waters & Springs of the most Northwestern Branches of Scioto River, thence to the Head Westernmost Springs of Sandusky River, Thence down the said River Including the Islands in it and in the Little Lake to Lake Erie, *on the West & North West* and Lake Erie *on the North.* These Boundaries contain the Cessions of Lands made to the Delaware Nation by the Wyondots and other Nations, & the Country we have seated our Grand Children the Shawnese upon in our Laps.[1] And we promise to give to the United States of America, such a part of the above described Country, as will be convenient to them and Us, that they may have room for their Childrens Children to sit down upon.

We pray that God may put Wisdom and Virtue into the Minds & Hearts of the Representatives of the United States of America & the Commander in Chief of their Forces & instruct them to give such an Answer to the Delaware Nation as may cement & make an everlasting Union between their respective Nations so that they may be considered as one People.

Sign'd at Princeton New Jersey at the house of Colonel George Morgan Agent for the United States of America & in his presence and in Presence of Us—

LEWIS MORRIS
JOHN DODGE
DANIEL SULLIVAN

A true Copy, certified by me GEO: MORGAN Agent for the United States of America

This is to be kept to the end of time by the Delaware Nation—

TAIMENAND.

The Mark[2] of CAY,LEY,LA,-MONT or JOHN KILBUCK 1[t] Chief

The Mark of WEYLAPACHE-CON call'd ISRAEL or CAP[T] JOHNNY—2[d] Chief

The Mark of PEYKEELING—Counsellor

The Mark of TEYTOPACHEE-CON—Counsellor.

The Mark of COOLPEECONAIN or JOHN THOMPSON—a Witness.

The Mark of WEY, LEY, PA, LAND—Witness.

The Mark of QUESACOTHEY.

The Mark of MEYMAOCONON —Witness.

nation under their chief, Custaloga, retreated to White River after Bouquet's Treaty of 1764, and made their permanent home on this stream.

[1] Compare these boundaries with those claimed by White Eyes at the Treaty of Pittsburgh in 1776. See *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 86. It will be seen that the Delawares within the three years that had elapsed had much enlarged their territorial claims, now including the Shawnee lands and those of their own western division.

[2] The marks which in the manuscript accompany the signatures have been

[Gen. George Washington to the Delaware chiefs. 1H78–80. Contemporary transcript.]

HEAD QUARTERS MIDDLE BROOK May the 12th 1779

To the Chief Men & deputies from the Delaware Nation

BROTHERS: I am happy to see you here. I am glad the long Journey you have made, has done you no harm; and that you are in good health. I am glad also you have left all our friends of the Delaware Nation well.

Brothers: I have read your paper. The things you have said are weighty things, and I have considered them well. The Delaware Nation have shown their good will to the United States. They have done wisely and I hope they will never repent. I rejoice in the new asurances you give of their friendship. The things you now offer to do to brighten the chain, prove your sincerity—I am sure Congress will run to meet you—and will do every thing in their power to make the friendship betwen the people of these States, and their Brothers of the Delaware Nation, last for ever.

Brothers: I am a Warrior—my words are few and plain; but I will make good what I say. 'Tis my business to destroy all the Enemies of these States and to protect their friends.—You have seen how we have withstood the English for four years; and how their great Armies have dwindled away to very little; and how what remains of them in this part of our great Country, are glad to stay on too or three little Islands, where the waters and their Ships hinder us from going to destroy them. The English, Brothers, are a boasting people. They talk of doing a great deal; but they do very little. They fly away on their Ships from one part of our Country to another; but as soon as our Warriors get together they leave it and go to some other part They took Boston & Philadelphia—two of our greatest Towns; but when they saw our Warriors together in a great Body ready [to] fal[l] upon them, they were forced to leave them.

Brothers: We have till lately fought the English all alone; Now the great King of France is become our good Brother and Ally. [Ms. torn] taken up the hatchet [Ms. torn] us, and we have sworn never to bury it, till we have punished the English and made them sorry for all the wicked things they had in their Hearts to do against these States. And there are other great Kings and Na-

omitted from the printed document because they lack special significance and are difficult to reproduce.

tions on the other side of the great Waters who love us and wish us well, and will not suffer the English to hurt us.

Brothers: Listen well to what I tell you and let it sink deep into your Hearts. We love our friends and will be faithful to them, as long as they will be faithful to us. We are sure our good Brothers the Delawares will always be so. But we have sworn to take vengance on our Enemies—and our false friends. The other Day, a handful of our young Men destrowed the settlement of the Onondagas.[1] They burnt down all their Houses—destrowed their grain and Cattle—took their Arms away—killed several of their Warriors and brought off many prisoners and obliged the rest to fly into the Woods. This [is] but the begining of the troubles which those Nations, who have taken up the hatchet against us, will feel.

Brothers: I am sorry to hear that you have suffered for want of necessaries or that any of our people have not dealt Justly by you. But as you are going to Congress which is the great Councel of the Nation and hold all things in their hands, I shall say nothing about the supplies you ask. I hope you will receive satisfaction from them. I asure you I will do every thing in my power to prevent your receiving any further injuries, and will give the strictest orders for that purpose. I will severely punish any that shall brake them.

Brothers: I am glad you have brought thre[e] of the Children of your principal Chiefs to be educated with us. I am sure Congress will open the Arms of Love to them—and will look upon them as their own Children—and will have them educated accordingly This is a great mark of your confidence and of your desire to preserve the friendship betwen the two Nations to the end of Time, and to become one people with your Bretheren of the United States. My ears hear with pleasure the other matters you mention. Congress will be glad to [hear] them too. You [Ms. torn] wish to learn our [Ms. torn] and ways of life, and above all the Religion of Jesus Christ these will make you a greater and happier people than you are. Congress will do every thing they can to assist you in this wise intention; and to tie the knot of friendship and union so fast, that nothing shall ever be able to loose it.

Brothers: There are some matters about which I do not open my lips; because they belong to Congress and not to us Warriors. You are going to them. They will tell you all you wish to know.

[1] See description of Colonel Van Schaick's expedition, *ante*, 306, note 1.

Brothers: When you have seen all you want to see, I will then wish you a good journey to philadelphia. I hope you may find there every thing your Hearts can wish; that when you return home,—You may be able to tell your Nation good things of us. And I pray God that he may make your Nation wise and strong, that they may always see their true interest and have courage to walk in the right path; and that they may never be deceived by lies to do any thing against the people of these States, who are their Brothers and ought always to be one people with them.

G° WASHINGTON

Commander in Chief of all the Armies in the United States of America.

WYANDOT CHIEFS RESPOND

[Wyandot chiefs to Col. Daniel Brodhead. 15S222. Transcript.][1]

DETROIT May 12th 1779.

I Captain Bawbee and Dawasceht and all were very glad when we heard from you, and I will rise and come unto you as soon as I can. I, Captn Bawbee, am not able to come myself, being too old and feeble, but I am very willing indeed, but am a coming as soon as God permits. I, Captn Bawbee, and all the chiefs of the Wyandotts.

Witness, John Gold, Adam Brown and John Montour.

BRODHEAD'S MESSAGES FOR THE DELAWARES

[Summary of letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Headquarters, Pittsburgh, May 13, 1779, to John Heckewelder. Printed in *Pa. Archives*, XII, 111–12.]

Reference to Clark's capture of Governor Hamilton. Enemy strengthening Detroit; discredits story of cannon being brought on horses. The Mingo have incited Wyandot and Shawnee to strike the Delawares but predicts they will not do it. Requests that message be sent to the latter not to be uneasy, as they will

[1] This document was enclosed in that of Big Cat to Brodhead, May 29, 1779. See *post*, 347.

soon hear from them. Reports that 150 boat builders are employed. A Spanish ambassador has arrived in Philadelphia bringing acknowledgment of American independence[1] and 11,000,000 silver dollars. Loan of $20,000,000 offered.

[Col. Daniel Brodhead to Big Cat. 2H1-3. Letter Book.]

PITTSBURGH May 13th 1779

Machingwe Geeshooch to Hinguapooshes

BROTHER:

I thank you for your kind letter by Nonawland—

I know that cannot [*sic*] will knock down a Fort and I believe the English would be Glad to make fools of the Wyondots and other Indians a little longer. I am informed they are to bring their Cannon upon Horses, but cannon which they can bring on Horses backs cannot knock down the Fort at Tuscorawas. I Suppose their Horses Must be as big as Mountains if they are to carry the Cannon, perhaps the English mean to make Beavor of the Mingoes and Wyondots to carry the Wood out of the road so that these Cannon may come to Tuscorawas on Carriages, but let them come, my friends the Delawares will give me notice when they come a little nearer and I believe they will not be able to get their Cannon back again nor themselves neither.

Brother: I am Glad to hear the news from Chupukin [Vincennes], bad men must die, the Govr of Detroit has done a great deal of mischief and has deserved Death. I am only sorry for the Death of good Men, but I dont approve of killing prisoners.

I am sorry your young men think they are working for nothing when the[y] work for me, depend upon it they shall be well rewarded for every Service they do for me by and by

Brother: if the Wyondots and Shawnese Stop their young Men

[1] Brodhead's information with regard to the Spanish alliance was incorrect. On April 12, 1779, Spain signed a secret treaty with France, in which she consented to enter the war against England. War was thereupon declared, May 3, 1779. Spain, however, steadfastly refused to acknowledge the independence of the united colonies, and during the Revolution did not send an accredited ambassador to them. Don Juan de Miralles, a gentleman from Havana, arrived in Philadelphia in the spring of 1779. He was a secret agent of Spain, but his credentials were only from the governor of Cuba. He was a friend of Washington, and was treated with distinguished courtesy until his death, April 29, 1780.

from joining the English they will act wisely, but they had better catch them Rogues and the Cannon too and bring them to me for I will have all the English Cannon before many Moons are past.

Brother: When you hear more news let me hear it too especially if the english come nearer for I intend to meet them and then you may See Some Sport.

Brother: Nonawland Says you have not Sufficient powder and lead for your men but I will order the Comd[e] Officer at Tuscorawas to give you Some More.

I am your friend and Brother

MACHINGWE KEESHOOCH

PROVISIONS FOR FORT LAURENS

[Col. Daniel Brodhead's orders. 1NN67. Transcript.]

[PITTSBURGH May 14, 1779]

Col. Brodhead orders Capt. Robert Beal, of the 13th Virginia Regiment to repair to the Old Mingo Town,[1] and there take the command of the men assembling there (Lieuts. John Hardin, Lt. Gabriel Peterson[2] and their parties are indicated) and go with them and escort provisions to Fort Laurens.

[1] Robert Beall was commissioned captain of the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment, Dec. 16, 1776; he served therein until Feb. 12, 1781, when he was transferred to the Seventh Virginia. He retired Jan. 1, 1783, and died in Fayette County, Pa., in 1789.

For the site of the Old Mingo Town see *Frontier Defense*, 4, note 8.

[2] John Hardin was born in Fauquier County, Va., Oct. 1, 1753. The family, of Huguenot origin, settled first in Canada and later removed to Virginia. When John was about twelve years old his father, Martin Hardin, removed to Georges Creek in the Monongahela region. John soon became a noted hunter. In 1774 he was an ensign in Dunmore's division during the Indian war. At the outbreak of the Revolution he enlisted in Morgan's rifle corps as second lieutenant, being promoted July 13, 1777 to a first lieutenancy. He was wounded in the battle of Stillwater and sent home to recover. Soon after, he joined his regiment at Fort Pitt and was employed in scouting and foraging service. In December, 1779 he resigned from the army, and the next year located lands in Kentucky, whither he removed his family in 1786. They settled in Washington County, east of Springfield, and Hardin served as quartermaster during Clark's Wabash expedition of 1786. In 1789 he was appointed county lieutenant, and brigadier-general of militia. In 1792, at the instance of General Wilkinson,

McINTOSH REQUESTS AN INVESTIGATION

[Gen. Lachlan McIntosh to Gen. George Washington. Washington Papers. A. L. S.]

CAMP the 14th May 1779.

SIR:

Altho' I despised the Slander I found so Industriously Spread upon the Road as I came down. I am too tenacious of my own Reputation—and the reflection it may Occasion upon your Excellencys Judgement in appointing an Improper Officer to a Department, to pass over what may tend to injure either hereafter, & [be] committed to Record. The groundless Aspersions of Colº George Morgan in the Course of Mr Steel's Tryal in Fort Pitt—and Encouraged by the Success of that—his barefaced attempt now to arraign the Judgement, knowledge & Conduct of the Honble the Board of Warr, the Late Commissioners, myself and others acting immediately under the authority & direction of Congress, in a speech he framed himself and put into the mouths of a few Delaware Chiefs, & Invited down by him for this purpose, altho by far the greater part of that Nation have broke through the most Solemn and Deliberate Treaty & Confederation lately Entered into, and are now in actual Warr against us, & do more mischief than any other of the western Tribes.—Obliges me, however short my time here may be, to request your Excellency that you will please to order an Examination into my conduct since I went to the westward, either by a Court of Inquiry or Court Martial as you think proper.—And that Colº John Gibson Mr Sample and any other Gentlemen who were West of the Mountains in that time may be detained for that purpose.

I am with the greatest Respect. Your Excellencys most obt Hble Servt

LACHN MºINTOSH.

HIS EXCELLY GENERAL WASHINGTON

Hardin was persuaded to undertake the hazardous mission of envoy to the Potawatomi Indians. Somewhere in the present Hardin County, Ohio, he was treacherously shot by unknown Indians. His fate was much lamented in Kentucky where he had been very popular. Dr. Draper visited and interviewed Hardin's son in 1863.

Gabriel Peterson was ensign of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment in August, 1776. After serving in various grades he was transferred in 1783 to the Second Pennsylvania, and served to the close of the war. In 1788 he married Margaret, daughter of Capt. Henry Heath, and settled in Jefferson Township, Allegheny County, Pa., where he died Feb. 12, 1832. His widow survived until 1857. See Draper Mss., 2E69, 4E9.

[Charges against Col. George Morgan. Washington Papers.]

Col° George Morgan D. C. of Purchases for the Western Departm[t] For neglect of Duty.

In having near 200[m] weight of Bacon & Pork altogether spoiled through the neglect & mismanagement of himself and those acting under his authority while he was Commissary of Purch[s] & Issues. —altho' at a great & unecessary Expence to the public

Neglecting to make up for the Loss & disapointment of so much meat to the Troops by purchasing a sufficient quantity of Pork the last Winter.

Neglecting to purchase a Sufficient quantity of Flour for the late Expedition from Fort Pitt into the Indian Country (originaly planned, and encouraged by himself) over and above the usual Consumption of the Established Garrison in that Department.— which may appear by the present Issuing Commissarys Issuings & Rec[ts] compared

Neglecting to have the necessary articles of Salt for curing Meat over the Mountains in Time.—by which the Cattle became so poor as to be hardly Eatable, and many of them lost to the Public.

Counter acting the planns & Intentions of the Board of Warr, the Commissioners acting under authority of Congress, and the Commanding Officer in the Indian Country.—for his own Ends, & of his own authority alone.

And being absent from his Department for Eight Months when there was most Occasion for him.—under the pretence of attending upon Congress for Money, and while he had many People Employed at great Expence throughout the Country to no purpose.

Evidences: Col° John Gibson L[t] Col° Campbell Col° Steel. D. Q. M. G. Col° John Irwin. D. C. G. Issues Sam[l] Sample. David Zeisbergher John Heckenwelder W[m] Brady

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[Alexander Hamilton to Gen. Lachlan McIntosh. Washington Papers. Autograph draft signed.]

H[d] Q[rs] 14th May 1779

DEAR SIR:

I received your note by Col Gibson and communicated the contents to His Excellency. Though from the serious nature of the

charges you have exhibited against Colonel Morgan, there seems to be almost a necessity for bringing the matter to a thorough investigation, yet at this juncture it would be attended with so many difficulties as to make it utterly inconvenient. The affair involves such extensive consequences that it could hardly be terminated in the course of the campaign. So many principal as well as inferior officers must be called from the Western department as Witnesses, that their attendance would intirely disconcert the department; nor indeed would it be practicable, but in succession, which would increase the delay, expence and trouble. We have already two very important trials on hand, and nothing can be more irksome in the midst of a campaign than long and intricate prosecutions, where the chief officers of the army must compose the courts. You must be detained in a state of military inaction here, while you might be usefully serving the public to the Southward.—These obstacles, in our present circumstances at the opening of a campaign, appear to the general to be almost insurmountable, and incline him to defer the inquiry. There are properly no charges against you—therefore a particular examination of your conduct unless by your desire seems to be unnecessary. The General for the reasons here assigned thinks it best the matter should rest where it is, unless upon the whole you give the preference to an inquiry.

I am very respectfully Your most Obed Servant

ALEX HAMILTON Aide De Camp

[Gen. Lachlan McIntosh to Alexander Hamilton. Washington Papers. A. L. S.]

CAMP Friday Evening 14th May 1779.

DEAR SIR:

Upon mature Consideration of the objection you hinted this morning, that my application to the General would Involve in it the whole proceedings of Col° Morgan & might detain me for a Considerable time from the more necessary services of my Country —& as the Campaign will open soon in every Department, I begg you will inform his Excellency that I have now given him a Clue, whereby he may unravell the whole Transactions to the Westward, when he pleases, or finds it convenient, & that I leave it altogether to himself to bring it on now, or at any other time as he thinks

proper, & will always be ready to attend, providing the witnesses on both sides are got.

I am with Regard Sir Your mŏst ob^{t} Servt

LACH^{N} M^{C}INTOSH

P. S. I will be obliged to you for an answer, by the bearer—If this matter is thought worth Investigation I would wish to have for Evidences—

Col^{o} Crawford Col^{o} Stephenson & Col^{o} Cox. of Youghiagania County.

Col^{o} Evans & Major Springer of Monongahala County.

Col^{o} Shepherd & Col^{o} Hedge of Ohio County.

Col^{o} Murrow & Major Scott of Berkly County.

Col^{o} Harrison of Shannando County.—all of Virginia—and

Col^{o} Lochry of Westmoreland County. Pennsylvania.

Col^{o} John Gibson.—Lt Col^{o} Campbell.—Major Taylor with all the Officers of the 9th Virg^{a} & most of the 8th Pen^{a}

Col^{o} Steel D. Q. M. Genl altho he is prejudiced.

Col^{o} John Irwin. D. C. G. Issues.

Major Ambeson.—Wm Brady—D. Zeisberger. &. J. Heckenwelder

But with respect to my own Conduct particularly, my Transactions are so clear that I am ready now, or at any other time the General pleases to call for them.

[Gen. George Washington to John Jay. Washington Papers. Draft.]

HD. QRS. MIDDLEBROOK 16 May 1779

SIR:

I have been duly honored with your Excellencys favor of the 10th instant and the two resolutions of Congress, which shall be properly attended to.

I herewith take the liberty to transmit several papers of serious nature which have passed betwen Genl McIntosh and myself—I thought it my duty to submit them to the consideration of Congress, that it might decide whether the reasons given in my Letter from Col. Hamilton are sufficiently cogent to pospone an enquiry for the present, or till the affairs or situation of the army will admit of entering fully into a subject that involves so many and remote evidences.

The enclosed extract of a letter from L[t] Col. Ford, may perhaps contain more recent intelligence from the Southward, than what congress could have received by Land. I also send a Charlestown gasette of the 21st [of April] three late N. York papers and an English one of the 26th Feby. ultimo.

I have the honor to be with great regard Your Excellency's most hble ser[t]

[GEORGE WASHINGTON]

HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN JAY Esq[r]

THE DELAWARE VISITORS

[Col. George Morgan to John Jay. Morgan Letter Book III. Transcript.]

PRINCETON May 16th 1779

To his Excellency John Jay Esqr President of Congress—

SIR: I have the honour to transmit to Congress a written representation of the Business on which the Delaware Indian Deputies now wait on them. I also inclose his Excellency Gen[l] Washington's Answer to such parts of their Business as lay immediately with him.

So soon as I recover my Family from the derangement these Visitors have put them to I shall have the honour to present the Chiefs to your Excellency & be ready to afford every Assistance which may be required of me—Until then I have directed Captain Dodge to take Care of them at their Lodgings unless he receives the Orders of Congress or the Board of War to attend on them.

I am satisfied that the Delaware Nation are disposed to give Congress such a Tract of Land as in my opinion would satisfie all the Troops of the United States; or if set up to Sale, would pay a great Proportion of the National Debt.

I have the honour to be with the greatest Respect Your Excellencys very ob[t] hum Serv[t]

G[EORGE] M[ORGAN]

ILL TREATMENT OF FRIENDLY INDIANS

[Gen. George Washington to Col. Daniel Brodhead. Washington Papers. Draft.]

Hd Qrs. Middlebrook 21 May 1779

D[r] Sir:

Your favors of the 3d & 6 instant came to hand the 18th, with the papers to which they refer.

The irregularity among the troops occasioned by the inhabitants selling them liquor should be stopped by such means as we have in our power. The establishment of military law where the civil prevails, is a measure of extreme necessity, and which I have no authority to recommend. On the present occasion the attention of the officers—strict discipline and examplary punishment must be exercised on the soldier;—while on the part of the seller, we can only put in practice such seizures as are not legalized by the inclosed general orders of the [blank in Ms.]

The murder of the Delaware young man by the soldier of the Virginia regt. is an unfortunate affair particularly at this juncture. The case appears embarrassing as articles of war are not sufficiently explicit. Examplary punishment however, I conceive absolutely necessary to keep the Indians from revenge and preserve the peace of the country—but under your representation this can only be effected by a military process.—I am induced therefore to order a court martial on Col. Gibsons return or should a field officer be present when this reaches you.—I would imagine the court will find no difficulty in giving a proper decision; as their oath directs them, where doubts shall arise, which are not explained by the articles, to act according to their conscience; the best of their understanding; *and the custom of war in like cases.*

That the punishment may be as extensively known to the Delawares as possible, it should be executed in the presence of some of their principal men.—With respect to the design formed to way-lay, and massacre the Indians of this nation now on a visit of negociation to congress, you will take the most effectual and immediate steps for their safe return by affording an escort &c.

It is to be lamented that the inhabitants shew such a disposition to emigrate; but we have no military remidy for its prevention.

Should you have received an authentic account of the seizure of the provisions in Monongahela county, you will transmit me

the particulars of the transaction, and in the mean while pursue such measures for obtaining justice to the public as shall appear proper and warrantable.

In my letters of the 3d & 10th instant I have given my opinion on some of the objects now before me; and to which I refer.—I have there spoken as decidedly as the nature of my information allowed, on these circumstances which should incline us to *hold*, or to *evacuate* fort Laurens. Should the latter have taken place before my letters reached you; or should you still hold it; but imagine an evacuation most expedient; you will apply its garrison elsewhere and in such a manner as may appear most advantagious.

You ask me as to the extent of your district or department. I need not tell you that your command is comprehended in the troops under your direction. As to the question you will perceive by the resolve of Congress which I transmitted that the idea of seperate departments is done away.

The carrying our operations westward on a large scale, will greatly depend on the termination of those now on hand. In the mean time you will direct your inquiries to useful and authentic information of the country and proceed in the execution of my former instructions.

I shall communicate your want of shoes to the board of war, that you may be furnished with a necessary supply.

Your several observations appear to be well founded, and cannot but claim my attention.

I am Dr Sir & G W

COL. BRODHEAD.

[Gen. George Washington to Col. George Morgan. Washington Papers. L. S.]

HEAD QUARTERS MIDDLEBROOK 21st May 1779.

SIR:

I thought it necessary to transmit you the inclosed extract of a letter from Col. Brodhead, that you may be on your guard with respect to the design formed against the Indians under your care. I have directed Colonel Brodhead in a letter of this date, to meet them with an escort on their return for their better protection.

It may be proper in this case, to communicate to him, the route you mean they should take.

I am Sir your most hble Servt

G° WASHINGTON.

COL. MORGAN.

[*Endorsed:*] Head Quarters May 21, 1779 Genl Washington's Letter respecting the Delaware Indians—The General requests Mr Mitchell to have this letter sent to Mr Morgan as soon as it comes to hand. 21 May 1779 rec'd 23 May

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THE WESTERN TRIBES

[Big Cat to Col. Daniel Brodhead. 1H82. In handwriting of John Heckewelder.]

COOSHACKUNG May 22d 1779

BROTHER MACHINGUE GESHUCH:

I must inform you that 2 Days ago a Messenger came here from Wabash, he was not only sent by the Dellawares residing there, but also by the Virginians who live now in the Fort at Chubhicking [Vincennes].

Brother: As the Messenger is a Young Man who could not remember all that was told him, as also the Speeches he was to carry to Cooshachking, twas therefore all done in writing by the Comander at that post. The Messenger received three Letters. the one from the Comander of the post at Chubhicking to the Comandt at Fort Pitt. the other from the same to the Comandt at Fort Lawrence,[1] and the third from the head Man of the Dellawares on Wabash to the Straight arm'd Man at Cooshackung.

Brother: These three Letters containing nothing but what was good, and with large white Belts and strings of Wampum belonging to them, was taken by the Wyondouchala gang, and by the order of Wyondoughalla himself, and Mathew Elliot now residing there, from the Messenger by force, and are now in the Enemy's hands.

Brother: I will now inform you of what the Messenger has told me, and which also was particularly mentioned in the Letters to you. he says as follows: That not long after the Virginians had

[1] For this letter from Moses Henry to Col. John Gibson see *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 422-23.

taken the Fort at Chubhicking from the English, Six, of the head Nations who live about there went into the Fort, and made a firm Peace and Chain of Friendship with the Virginians.[1] That those Nations then turned to the Dellawares, saying Now Grand father I have made up all my matters with the Virginians, I have shook hands with them, and we are one people, I therefore tell you now Grandfather that I shall for the future entirely listen to you, and whatever you shall tell me to do, that I will do.

Brother: We have often heard how the back Nations are at War with the Virg[a]. this has often been reported to Us by the bad People. but now we are informed to the contrary. The Messenger informs Us that all the back Nations are quiet and peaceable, and friends to the Virginians. That he heard of no bad people and Enemy's to the same, till he came to the Shawane Towns, and to the Wyondoughella gang, when he heard nothing at all that was good, untill he got to Capt[n] Pipe and Wingenund where he again heard of friendship with the Virginians.

Brother: Capt[n] Pipe has sent Word to me by the Messenger that He cannot bear the reproaches of the Enemy's to the Virginians no longer. he has sent to me to come to him, when to Consult on a place for his future residence, as he is determined to stay no longer where he is, but to come and live somewhere near Cooshackung. When then I shall go there, (which will be as soon as my Messenger returns from You) I will, if I see any possibility of getting the Letters, go there myself and try to get them, and then deliver them to You. I only fear they are by this time in the hands of Allexd[r] M[c]Kee.[2]

Brother: My Brother who is the head Man of the Dellawares on Wabash is gone with some of his Men to see there Brothers the Virg[a] at the Fort on the Falls of Ohio.

I am Your friend and Brother

HINGUAPOOSHEES (or the big Cat.)

TO BROTHER MACHINGUE GESHUCH.

[1] For Clark's conferences with the Indians see *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 146-49, 296-97.

[2] For McKee's account of the capture of these letters, and the dispositions of the western tribesmen see *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 423-24.

REPORTS FROM FORT PITT

[Summary of letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Pittsburgh, May 22, 1779, to Gen. George Washington. Printed in *Pa. Archives*, XII, 113–15.]

Has received Washington's letter of the third, is happy to have permission to establish posts at Kittanning and Venango. Lack of provisions and difficulty of procuring supplies. Four young Delawares ready to go on a scout; spies formerly sent out went only to old deserted town on Le Bœuf River. Part of Fort Laurens' garrison came in because of lack of provisions. Has found a short route to this place, where a road for artillery may be cut. Boats being built.

[Summary of letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Pittsburgh, May 22, 1779, to Col. Archibald Steel. Printed in *ibid.*, 115.]

Need for quartermaster's stores; a fishing net will save need of flesh meat. Indians quiet. Has not heard from Colonel Gibson since his departure.

[Summary of letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Pittsburgh, May 22, 1779, to Col. George Morgan. Printed in *ibid.*, 116.]

Hears General McIntosh has declared against Morgan a second time. Many of starved garrison of Fort Laurens have come in. Expects some Wyandot Indians in a few days. Capture of Governor Hamilton by Colonel Clark.

DELAWARES ADDRESS FRENCH ENVOY

[The Delaware chiefs to Monsieur Gérard. 1H83–84. D. S.]

To His Excellency The Minister of his most Chrisstian Majesty to the United States of America—

FATHER: Listen to your Children, the Delaware Nation, while they speak to you by their Chiefs who are deputed to do buisiness at this their ancient Council Fire, with our Brethren of the United States

Father: It is now twenty Years since we saw your Face or heard your Voice. When you left us you told us we should see you again, before we left our Town we were informed that we should see you here, this made our Hearts glad, for we longed to see our true father & to hear his Voice.

Father: Listen to your youngest Children. We are rejoiced to hear that you have extended your hand to our Brethern of the United States in their troubles, this makes us hope that we shall feel the good Effects of your ancient Love to your younger Children the Delawares.

Father: We desire to hear your Voice, that we may report your words to all your Children of every Nation, and we wish you would send some French Gentleman of Charecter, under the direction of Brother Taimenand to speak your mind to them, that they may be convinced of your intentions, and be entirely satisfied that our ancient Father has join'd our Brothers of the United States.

Father: Since you left us the English have assumed the title of our Father & they have call'd upon all Indian Nations to take up the Hatchet against our B[r]ethren of the United States, to kill Burn and destroy their Women and Children and Habitations—some of your foolish Children have been bribed by the English to do so—But we the youngest Children the Delawares have listen'd to the great council of the United States & we have not in any respect engageed in the War. Congress have only desired us to sit still and take care of our Women And Children—this we are determined to d[ɔ]

Father: In this situation we have suffered much for want of Cloathing—Our Women and Children are now in distress. We do not mean to beg—We only desire to have Goods in Exchange for our Peltries, and we wish our ancient Father to assist us if in

his power to do it—We love our Father—We love our Father and we desire to hear him speak from his Heart.

Sign'd in behalf of the Delaware Nation by their Deputies at Philadelphia this 25th Day of May 1779. The marks[1] of

CAYLEYLAMONT or JOHN KILLBUCK 1st Chief,—Turtle Tribe.
HEYLAPACHEKON or ISRAEL 2d Chief—Turkey Tribe
PEYKELING—Councillor—Wolfe Tribe.
TEYTOPACHEECON Councellor.
WEYLEYCAPALAND
QUESACOTHEY

FORT LAURENS THREATENED

[Big Cat and other Delawares to Col. Daniel Brodhead. Washington Papers. Contemporary transcript.]

COOCHOCKING May 25th 1779

Hinguapooshees and the other Counsellors to Colonel Brodhead, as follows:

BROTHER MACHINGUE GESHUCH: Yesterday evening I recd your letter which Pageland's Brother brought. I am always very Glad when I hear from you.

Brother: Now hear what I have to say to you and believe me for I shall always tell you the Truth

Brother: Just now I have recd authentic Intelligence of the disposition of the Enemy. one of my men who left the Shawanese Towns six days ago, informs me that in Ten days from the day he came away the Wyondots, Shawanese and Mingoes with Some English, with four pieces of Cannon were to march for Fort Lawrens. That most of the Enemy were ready already and at the Wyondot Towns, but others were Still preparing tho with the Greatest haste, That when they begin to march a Strong party is to go before the main Body and post themselves all round that Garrison that nobody may be able to go in or out, and so to remain till the main body and Cannon come up, and then to attack the Fort. That these Nations have declared possitively that they will no more listen to any body that should offer to speak to

[1] The marks which in the manuscript accompany the signatures have been omitted from the printed document because they lack special significance and are difficult to reproduce.

them or try to stop them, so as the Delewares did the last time when they were there, but that they will have the Fort this time let it go as it will.

Brother: Consider now quick what you will do, for you will see what I now tell you will prove true.

Brother: I shall send now immediately a messenger to Capt: Pipe Wingenund who are our friends and also your Brothers, they are hated by the Enemy who Call them Virginians. These our friends and Brothers I shall call here immediately and then you know that all those who remain there are your Enem[ies] and Consequently will know how to treat them

Brother: I now immediately send also a letter with this News to Major Vernon at Fort Lawrens

I am your friend and Brother

HINGUEPOOSHEES

[John Heckewelder to Col. Daniel Brodhead. Washington Papers. Contemporary transcript.]

COOCHOCKING 25th May 1779

D[r] SIR:

I rec[d] your kind favour of the 13th instant last night but am Sorry I cannot have so much time to write much to you this time. The Messenger who is to Carry this to you will, and dare not stay any longer and is to travil day and night with the news till he reaches you, and then to return speedily, you will Rem[r] when you see this, what I wrote to you the last time Concerning the Wyondots, Depend what the Chieffs tell you this time is True.

In four days from this they are to begin to march towards Fort Laurens, but I think they cannot go very fast. I understand two of their Cannon are pritty large pieces and the other two only light. I thi[nk] the newspapers you sent to me by Pagelands Bro[ther] are miscarried and perhaps took to Tuscorawas.

The Coochocking people wish that the Enemy may find their masters this time. They say if you only once would come so near together as to an Engagement, they the Enemy would soon begin to run, and there would be hardily any stopping of them again.

I am D[r] Sir, your affectionate friend and most Hble: Serv[t]

JOHN HACKENWELDER

TO COLO. BRODHEAD

CONGRESS REPLIES TO DELAWARES

[Speech of Congress to Delaware chiefs. 1H85–87. Contemporary transcript.]

The Speech of the Congress of the United States to the Wise Men representing the Delaware Nation, delivered by the Committe for the Indian Affairs the 26th. May 1779[1]

BROTHERS:

The Great Councel of the United States of America have received & Considered the representation made to them by you the Deputies of the Delaware Nation.

Open your Eears & listen to their Answer:

The Great Councel are not unmindful of the several treaties of Friendship which they entered into with your Nation in the Year 1775, 1776 & 1777.[2] It was one of their first and great Objects to secure to you & to your Women & Children Peace & Safety: and they extended the same benevolent wishes to all the Nations of the Indians on this great Continent, however oppressed by the English who returned our love with fire & sword we would not suffer our Indian Friends to be plunge'd for our sakes into the miseries of War, we stood forth like Men & fought our own Battles, & advised them to set quietly under the shade of their Trees, & reap the fruits of our Toils & dangers, the freedom purchased by our blood, but the English acted a part very different, by deceit & bribes they blinded the Eyes & Understanding of many of our Indian Brethren & turned their hearts against Us. They did not stop here but prevailed on many of

[1] See *Jour. of Cont. Cong.*, XIV, 676. The speeches made by the members of the Indian Committee to the Delaware chiefs, May 26, 1779, are preserved in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, in the handwriting of James Duane.

[2] For the treaty of 1775 see the text in *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 25-127; that for 1776 is mentioned in *ibid.*, 216-17. The treaty of 1777 was simply a reaffirmation by the Delawares of their intention to remain true to the American alliance. References thereto are found in *Frontier Defense*, 19, 35, 86, 235. It took place early in August during Col. George Morgan's stay at Pittsburgh. Excitement ran so high concerning the recurring raids on the frontier by the Mingo, Wyandot, and other tribes that it was difficult to protect from the frontiersmen the friendly Delawares who came to Fort Pitt in response to Morgan's invitation. No reference is here made to the treaty of 1778 (see *ante*, 138) because the chiefs had come to protest the interpretation of that treaty, by which they were required to take up arms for the American side. The three preceding treaties (1775, 1776, 1777) had been those of friendship and neutrality.

them to join in the War against Us to destroy our Women & Children, plunder our Substance & burn our Villages: for this perfidious treatment, we have never given the slightest provocation our treaties we have faithfully observed & th'o it was out of our power to do all that we wished for our Indian Brethren, we did them all the good which our Circumstances admitted We sent over the great waters for a large supply of Cloathing & Goods on purpose to open the trade & relieve the necessities of our Indian Brethren as we promised them. They must not Complain of us for the disappointment; the English alone are to blame, who having more Ships at Sea than the United States robbed us and you of the Goods intended for your support: let them meet with your reproaches who are the cause of your sufferings. The time is at hand we trust it will be out of their power to disturb our trade or to hurt our Children or our Friends. Our great & good Ally the King of France has joined his Warriors by Sea & land to the Warriors of these United States, he has Covenanted with us that our Enemies shall be his Enemies & our Friends his Friends. Other mighty nations on the other side of the great Waters are also our Friends, & will we have reason to believe soon take fast hold of the same Covenant Chain which binds Us & the King of France & his Subjects. Our great Chief Warrior and our other Warriors have by their bravery & their Victories already convinced all the world that these United States are not to be Conquere'd: the English know it well: they have so often Smarted under the blows of our Warriors, that they do not wish to meet them in the Field: Soon we trust they will be driven over the great waters, no more to return to disturb our peace.

We have also the best reasons to expect that with the assistance of our powerful Allies a free passage thro' the Seas will Soon be opened & preserved: and these United States be possessed of the means of Establishing a great Trade with all the world and supplying the wants of such of their Indian Brethren as shall Continue Stedfast in their Friendship.

Brothers: You tell us it is your opinion that [it] is for the Interest of the Delaware Nation that they Should observe the Strictest neutrallity during the present war. You know best whether this is the General opinion of your Nation: but we must inform you, that it is reported that many of your young Men have joined the Senecas and taken up the Hatchet against Us. Had the Indian Nations remained peaceable, had they not listened to the Voice

of our Enemies & broken their Treaties we are all well persuaded it would have promoted their truest Interest: but while too many of them take an active part against Us; you cannot be surprised that our Warriors ask for, & expect the Assistance of such as profess to be our Friends.

Brothers: We shall take Care of your Children whom you leave with Us, and give them a religious & useful Education and we receive this mark of your Confidence as a Strong Testimony of the Sincerity of your Friendship; nor Shall we neglect when the Country Shall be restored to quiet to encourage & promote your Civilization by inducing Ministers Schoolmasters, Tradesman & Husbandmen to reside among you—it is a measure wise and Salutary & in which you will meet with the applause & assistance of all good Men. when we know in what manner we can be serviceable to your pious Inst[r]uctor the Reverend M[r] Ziesberger we will afford him every assistance & encouragement, well pleased that his Example & labours have proved acceptable and beneficial to those of your Nation who have embraced Christianity.

Brothers: The great Councel have never interposed with respect to the Claims or bounds of their Indian Friends, their disputes ought to be settled by wise Men of your own Nations acquainted with your Customs & your rights which we do not profess to be: nor have we time while the War Continues to rage, to Examine into such matters, alth'o at a future day we Shall be glad to give you the best advices in our power after receiving the necessary information.

EXPEDITION AGAINST SIX NATIONS

[Summary of letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Pittsburgh, May 26, 1779, to Col. Stephen Bayard. Printed in *Pa. Archives*, XII, 117.]

Hears Bayard is on his way with regimental stores; surprised that there is no officer at Old Town to forward them.

[Summary of letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Pittsburgh, May 26, 1779, to Col. John Davis. Printed in *ibid.*, 117–18.]

Transporting provisions from Carlisle and Bedford. Need of an agent at Old Town, Maryland.

[Summary of letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Pittsburgh, May 26, 1779, to Gen. Nathaniel Greene. Printed in *ibid.*, 118–20.]

Glad McIntosh is going South, wishes him success. Resources in his late campaign were greater than those now available; he determined to take Detroit and with this view kept 1,000 militia employed at Fort McIntosh when they should have been putting in fall crops. Desires to act on the offensive. "I most sincerely wish Gen'l Sullivan success against the black Caitiffs of the North, and should be happy to meet him near the heads of the Allegheney, and assist in giving the Senecas a complete flogging." Son of White Eyes has gone to get a Mingo scalp. Provisions should be forwarded more rapidly.

HOSTILE DELAWARE BANDS

[Col. George Morgan to John Jay. Morgan Letter Book III. Transcript.]

PHILAD[A] May 28th 1779

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS:

The Delaware Chiefs say that Fort Laurens was besieged by one hundred & eighty Indians Wiandots, Mingoes, & Munsies and by four Delawares vizt

John Montour—who is well known not to have any thing to do with the Delawares for he is an Outcast from them on account of his foolish Conduct—he lives at Detroit & with the Wiandots.

Ché,chéas—Montour's Brother—He was drove away from Kaskaskias[1] when 600 Men under General Hand kill'd the Women

[1] This refers to the Delaware town on Beaver Creek, usually spoken of as Kuskuskies. See *Frontier Defense*, 178, note 45. The expedition was that known as Hand's "Squaw Campaign." See *ibid.*, 215-23.

& Children of our Nation who lived there—he is a foolish Fellow & for revenge went & join'd the Wiandots.

Poo,ques,an,geeh,ca—a Nephew of Captain Pipes—he was a Man well disposed toward the United States, & never join'd in the War untill Gen[l] Hand's people abovemention'd kill'd his Brother, Sister, Aunt & Nephew—he even then continued quiet, untill being frighted off by what pass'd at Fort Pitt last summer he went & join'd the Wiandots.

Pey,mau,coo,seet—Half Brother to Montour—who is supposed to have prevailed on him to join him at Detroit, he is as great a fool as the other.

Beside the above all of whom are Outcasts from the Delaware Nation, Mou,mau,tau,quet—Uncle of Montour kill'd a Soldier of the 13th Virginia Regiment—he is also cast out by the Delaware Nation & so was his Uncle Wey,léa,seet, who join'd the Wiandots early & was shot at Wheeling.[1]

There were also about twenty of Wandouhela's and Puckangehela's People (who we formerly told you had join'd the Wiandots) came to Fort Laurens with the Shawnese—but they were met by our People who turn'd all of them back except five who went to War against the settlements in Ohio County—Their names are, Puckangehelas, Peypau,o,land, Peypau,meen,hau,-gais, or Puckangehelas youngest Brother, Peypau,o,land's Grandson & Wes,co,tees.

These kill'd one Man, one Child, & took two Children Prisoners.

There are between twenty & thirty, but not exceeding that number, under Wandohela & Puckangehelas who have been to War & are Enemies to the United States—perhaps the number may have encreas'd since but we cannot say it has.

When Fort Laurens was visited the second time it was done by 40 Shawnese, 20 Mingoes, 20 Wiandots & the Delawares beforementioned—they were there five days—but no Guns were exchanged—the Delawares prevailed on the whole of them to turn back—except the five already mention'd to have gone to Ohio County & one or two small Parties who sett off for the Frontiers but they know not what they did.

It is well known the Delawares saved Fort Laurens.[2]

[1] For this siege see *ibid.*, 54-68.

[2] This defense of the Delaware Indians was written in response to McIntosh's charges that the majority of the nation was hostile.

MORGAN RESIGNS

[Col. George Morgan to Congress. Morgan Letter Book III. Transcript.]

[May 28, 1779]

Colonel Morgan begs leave most respectively to represent to Congress, that it is his opinion an Agent for Indian Affairs in the Western Department is at present unnecessary furthur than to act under the sole direction of the Officer commanding in the Department—which, from the conduct of General M°Intosh the late Commandant on most occasions, Col° Morgan begs leave to decline—being fully satisfied, that a perseverance in the late adopted Indian Politics will terminate in a general Indian War; which, by a proper conduct may be avoided—These are the sentiments Colonel Morgan has held forth to Congress ever since he has had the honour of acting under them—They are dictated from honest principles & a sincere desire to serve his Country without injuring the Indians who wish to live in Peace with us. But as Gentlemen of knowledge & superior abilities differ in opinion & as Policy may require a certain conduct towards the Indians which Col° Morgan is not capable of, he most respectfully entreats the favour of Congress to allow him to retire from the employment of Agent for Indian Affairs and more particularly as some Circumstances in his family require his immediate attention. For this reason & others formerly mentioned to Congress he also most respectively requests a person may be appointed in his place to act as Deputy Commissary General of Purchases in the Western Department & that Colonel Morgan may be directed to account for all the Monies he has received, & which he is now & has been long waiting to do, & for that purpose he detains his Clerk in the City at a considerable public expence as he is acquainted with all his transactions in the public service since April 1776.

If on any future occasion Colonel Morgan can have it in his power to do a service to the United States, he will most chearfully step forth whenever he shall be call'd upon.

GEO. MORGAN

NEWS FROM DETROIT

[John Montour to John Dodge. 1H88. A. L. S.]

COOSHACKUNG May 28th 1779

DEAR FRIEND DODGE:

Acording to Your request I did all I could, but I was at that time not able to come as the Mingoes were against me, and when I received Your Letter it was to late. I now shall see you very soon with the Wyondotts. The Tawa Chieff was afraid to come, but now I have sent Word to him again, at the Town where Meldram[1] Trades, and hope he will come also. Hamilton, Hayes and Desyoung [Dejean] are now served by Clark as we were served by them.

Our friends at Detroit are brave and harty. Var-Sythe [Forsyth][2] some time ago broke his thigh by Misfortune, but is recovered again. The Merchants at Detroit drink the United States health. The English call the Wyondotts Rebbels because they have turned friends to the States.[3]

When I shall see You I will tell You a great deal content Yourself at present with this from Your friend and well wisher

JOHN MONTURE

Capt. Bird with 10 Men of the English with 2 swivels and a

[1] George Meldrum was an early British trader at Detroit, having settled there before 1770. He formed a partnership with William Park, and their firm was one of the most prominent in old Detroit. In 1802 Meldrum was chosen trustee of the village; and in 1805 ensign of the militia. His home was at Grosse Point, where he had a grist mill. Descendants of the Meldrum family lived in Detroit until a recent period.

[2] This was William Forsyth, stepfather of John Kinzie, and founder of the Forsyth family of Detroit and St. Louis. William Forsyth, originally of a Scotch family, emigrated to America from Ireland in 1750. He was wounded on the Plains of Abraham, was stationed later at Detroit where he married Eleanor Lytle, widow of John Kinzie. The Forsyth family was prominent at Detroit throughout the Revolution. At one time William Forsyth was imprisoned because of his friendliness to the American cause. He died about the close of the century. His sons, Robert and Thomas, took part with the Americans in the War of 1812.

[3] For a letter to the commandant at Detroit concerning the message to the Wyandot, and Montour's connection therewith, see *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 415.

Number of Shawnese, Mingoes and others who join him are to attack Fort Lawrence very soon.[1]
[*Addressed:*] To M[r] John Dodge at Fort Pitt

[Summary of letter of John Heckewelder, Coshocton, May 28, 1779, to Col. Daniel Brodhead. Printed in *Pa. Archives*, VII, 516–18.]

Montour brings word that the Wyandot are on their way to Pittsburgh to make peace with the United States. Told the British that they had cheated them long enough. Montour's report of Clark's capture of Vincennes. The new English fort at Detroit and the vessels guarding the coast. Bird gathering men to attack Fort Laurens. British fail in attempt to capture Montour. Thomas McCarty[2] gone with a party of forty down the Scioto to war. Six nations preparing to attack Wyandot. Attitude of the Shawnee.[3] Baubee's letter written by a prisoner. When the strawberries are ripe Butler with 200 rangers and the Six Nations to devastate from Ligonier westward. This news was taken from Guyashusta's[4] private speech to the Mingo.

GOOD NEWS FROM WYANDOT

[Big Cat to Col. Daniel Brodhead. 1H89. In handwriting of John Heckewelder.]

COOSHACKUNG May 29th 1779

Hingwapooshees and the Counsellors of Cooshacking to Col° Brodhead as follows.

BROTHER MACHINGUE GEESHUCH:

Some time ago when Brother Tamenend (Geo. Morgan) sent a Speech to the Wyondotts, and called them to come to the Coun-

[1] Bird's advance against Fort Laurens was checked by Bowman's expedition from Kentucky against the Shawnee towns. See *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, X, 336-37, XIX, 405, 413, 440.

[2] Thomas McCarty, an employee of the Indian department at Detroit, had a salary of eight shillings per day. He appears to have been killed before the close of the Revolution. A half-breed Ottawa chief in 1808 bore the name McCarty.

[3] See report of the Shawnee attitude in *ibid.*, 412, 415.

[4] For a sketch of this chief see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 38, note 65.

cill Fire at Fort Pitt, they then began to consider of that which is good.

Brother: Your Speech to the Wyondotts was received well, and I am very glad to inform you, that they are rising to come and shake hands with You.

Brother: John Monture is come here with this good News, and we do not doubt in the least that our Uncles are in Earnest this time. Monture is to stay here till the Chieffs of the Wyondotts come, and then I will go with him and them to our Brothers the Americans.

Brother: We rejoice with You that our Uncles, who are likewise Your Brethren are on a good way. They have bid the English farewell for ever. They are convinced that the English has been cheating them all this time. They are also convinced that the Americans mean it honest with them.

Brother: Now I hope when Your Brothers the Wyondotts come to You, that You will treat them as You have promised. We have assured them that they will be used well, and that You have nothing bad in Your heart towards them. We have told them (as You frequently desired us to do) that You only want them to take hold of Our friendship, and for this now they are a coming to You.

Brother: That which I mentioned to You concerning the Enemy going to Fort Lawrence is true, tho I think they will be a few Days later than I mentioned. however depend that no Wyondotts will be along. The Shawnese, Mingoes, and Wyondoughella gang are those who go against You, and I hear the English has only 2 litle swivels to take with them. One McCarty with about 40 Chibways and Tawas is gone to War. The Number of Warriors going against Fort Lawrence will be about 300. Capt^{a} Bird is to knock down the piquets there and then the Indians to run in and Tomhawk them all.

Brother: We have people out who will give Us imediate Notice when the Enemy March, and you shall be informed then imediately.

HINGUAPOOSHES.

[Col. Daniel Brodhead to Big Cat. 2H9–11. Letter Book.]

HEAD QUARTERS PITTSBURG May 29. 79

BROTHER HINGWEPOOSHEES:

I have receiv'd your letters of the 22nd & 25th Ins^{t} and desire to thank you for the friendly and timely Intelligence you have given me of the Enemies Approach towards Fort Laurens as well as the News from the Westward.

Brother: I hear the Shawnese burnt the Speech I sent them with that of the Delaware Chiefs I am glad the Shawnese act'd so candid a part and that I know them to be avowed Enemies to the Americans because I shall be no longer at a loss how to treat them. They will probably soon have something to call them home from their brother Mercenary English

Broth'r: It is with pleasure I hear that Pipe Intends to Join his Nation again and I think It will be best for Wingenum to do so too, because You will receive strength from your Numbers and your Influence will be greater.

Brother: The English it seems retain their Influence over the silly Indians and want to save appearances, but the time is fast approaching for their and their allies certain destruction, my friends will advise me when they come forward from the Wyandot Town and I shall be ready to meet them, perhaps before they reach Fort Laurens

I am Your friend & brother

MACHINGWE KESHUCH

MORAVIAN INFORMATION

[Summary of letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Headquarters, Pittsburgh, May 29, 1779, to John Heckewelder. Printed in *Pa. Archives*, XII, 121.]

Acknowledges favor of May 25. Admits that attack against Fort Laurens might be planned, but believes the Indians will scarcely be persuaded to cut a road. Desires information on kind of country through which cannon must be brought. Sends newspapers.

[Col. Daniel Brodhead to Gen. George Washington. Washington Papers. A. L. S.]

PITSBURGH May 29th 1779.

DEAR GENERAL:

I have the Honor to inclose Col° Clarks Journal[1] containing an account of his success against Governor Hamilton of Detroit & the Garrison of post St Vincent (or Fort Sackville) also two Letters just come to Hand by runners from Cochocking.

The Shawnese burnt the speech I sent them[2] of which a Copy is inclosed, & one half the warriors of that nation are now with the English at upper Sandusky. The Delaware runner assures me that the Enemy are considerably reinforced with white men. The supplies I sent to Fort Laurens did not reach it untill the 24th instant and the small Garrison under Major Vernon was so much reduced for want of Provisions that they were scarce able to stand on their feet.

I shall immediately write to the chief at Coochocking to give me information of the Enemies nearer approach and prepare to meet them by cutting a road to Fort Laurens.

Col° Rawlins's Detachment arrived yesterday under the Command of Captn Beal[3] but I am informed that the Terms of half the men will expire in July next at which time the officers intend to resign on account of some neglect shewn them by their State.

Neither the Salt provisions nor Boat Builders Tools are arrived from Bedford, although two different Expresses have been sent to the Quarter Master there to send them on.

A young Delaware who calls me Father offers his Service to bring me a Mingoe Scalp & he is now fitting his arms &c for that purpose. The bearer Mr Gibson[4] is in great haste and waits to take this Letter to Philad^a^ from thence you will receive it by express.

[1] This journal was in all probability a duplicate of the one prepared by Clark, April 29, 1779, for the governor of Virginia. See *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 169-74.

[2] See *ante*, April 8, 1779.

[3] Capt. Thomas Beall was a native of Prince George County, Md., probably of that portion now part of the District of Columbia. In 1776 he enlisted as first lieutenant in a rifle company; was chosen captain in Rawlings' regiment, July 25, 1776; in the autumn of the same year he was one of those attacked by Knyphausen's men at Fort Washington. During 1777-78 Beall was engaged in providing supplies for Rawlings' regiment, and Jan. 26, 1779, was listed as captain of a Maryland company of riflemen in the Continental service. He remained at Fort Pitt until Aug. 14, 1780, when he was dismissed from the service. He died, probably at Georgetown, in 1823.

[4] John Gibson, the trader, for whom see *Frontier Defense*, 276, note 33.

I have the Honor to be with perfect regard & Esteem your Excellencies most obed[t] Humble Serv[t]

DANIEL BRODHEAD

HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON

DELAWARE ADDRESS TO CONGRESS

[The Delaware chiefs to Congress. 1H91-93. D. S.]

The Deputies of the Delaware Nation, To the United States in Congress assembled, in answer to the Address of their Committee, to the said Deputies.

PHILADELPHIA May 29th 1779

BROTHERS:

We thank you for the Answer of your Committee to the Representation we made to Congress the 10th Instant That Representation we now confirm in every particular It contains matters of the greatest Importance to you and Us.

Brothers: We are very sorry you have it not in your Power to supply our Wants, as mentioned to you. We are in great distress for Cloathing in particular and for Powder and Lead wherewith to hunt to feed our Women & Children true we need not be at a loss if we go to Detroit, but we are determined that we will never do as some foolish People have done. We should have imagined Brothers that an Exchange of some of your Blankets &c for our Deer skins would be advantageous to you as well as to us. But we submit, and hope it will not be long before you get rid of all your Enemies, and that you will soon be able to s[u]pply our Wants; We thank you Brothers for your good Promises now again renewed to Us. And our grand Children will hereafter thank you for this Good Work. And we shall ever have it in remembrance.

Brothers: It is very true that you told us to sit still and not to interfere in the War betwen you and the English This was very agreeable to Us, And we are determined to pursue your Advice.

Brothers: Many Indians have struck you—Some few Delawares among the rest, but they are obliged to forsake our Nation on this Aaccount We never conceal'd or attempted to conceal this from you. We have constantly given Information to your agent and

the Officers commanding for you on Ohio, of every Delaware Indian who is disaffected to the United States all these have voluntarily deserted or we have obliged them to leave our Towns. We are told that there are in several of your states People you call Tories—but as that does not make those particular States your Enemies, so we hope you will make a proper Distinction between our Nation and Individuals—who, on Account of their Conduct have become Outcasts from it and whom we will never receive again as Friends untill you agree to receive them as your Friends or you obtain full satisfaction for the Injuries they have done you. And which we will exert our selves to obtain for you not only from them but from other Nations who have struck you. Yet we wish you to pursue such wise Councils as may tend to promote Peace as speedily as possible. For we see clearly, that if you will be strong in good Works, & will join with Us & with our Father, the French Minister, to do what is proper, we can quiet all the foolish people of all Indian Nations an keep them so. And we hope you will not be backward in this good work.

Brothers: What you say respecting your Warriers wanting the assistance of their Friends is natural but we are so circumstanced that the puting the Tomhawk into our hands last Summer threw us into great Confusion & has been attended with very disagreeable Consequences to you and Us. Yet when we see that we can be of service, we shall not be backward. Your Agent and every officer on Ohio ought to know that we have already been active to serve you that our Nation prevented Fort Laurence and its Garison from faling into the Enemies hands and of these services we have abundant proof in various Letters from Col° Gibson then Commandant who often declared to Us that Congress would never forget our services as long as Land or Water remained and that Congress should recompence these Services. It is possible that some Officer may have forgot the Services because we we refused to make them Rich with our Lands which he asked us to give him. But this has not been the case with Col° Broadhead from whom we received a Writen Speech dated the 2^{d} of April 1779 herewith deliver'd to you—His words are these

Brothers, the Chiefs of the Delaware Nation of Coochocking: I rejoice to see you and speak to you listen to me and Let my words take deep root in your minds. You have labour'd much in a good work. Your Zeal & steady Friendship for your American Brother does you the hiest Honour, And your Names will be handed down to Posterity as the best and wisest Councellors of all Nations. As you are now going to speak with the great Congress of the American

Nation, I do not wish to delay you an hour, but shall be glad to see you when you return to Fort Pitt

Brothers: We are at a great Loss for a Person to act as Secretary to our Councel at Coochocking. It will be of great Service to you to send us an honest one with Po,pe,mey,tooh, when as Interpreter—by this means you may always have Evidence of our Conduct. The time of our B[r]other David Ziesberger is taken up in instructing his People in Religious Matters and it is hard to interrupt him therein. beside his Town is two miles from ours and we, frequently have occasions to send Expresses to Fort Pitt on very short notice to inform you of the Motions of your Enemies. This B[r]others is all we have to say at present. We think these are matters worthy the attention of Congress & we hope they will excuse the Trouble we have put them to and we hope that the Children we leave under the direction of Congress will be properly Educated or sent home to us. When we go home we shall shew your good Words to all Nations.

Brothers: We bid you fare well We thank you for what you have said respecting our Lands; now we shall not regard what bad People have said respecting your Intentions to deprive us of them. When you are in want we will not be backward to give you such a part of them as may suit our Circumstances.

The Marks[1] of
CAYLEYLAMONT 1st Chief
WEYLEYPACHECICON ISRAEL 2d Chief
PEYKEELING Counsellor
TEYTAPACHEECON Counsellor
COOLPECONIN Witness
QUESACOTHY Witness
MEYMAOCON Witness
WEYMEYSAULAND Witness
SCAPEHELEY Witness

[1] The marks which in the manuscript accompany the signatures have been omitted from the printed document because they lack special significance and are difficult to reproduce.

FRENCH ENVOY REPLIES TO DELAWARES

[Response of French minister to Delaware chiefs. 1AA25–31. Transcript.]

PHILADELPHIA, the 29th May, 1779.

An authentic copy of the answer made by his Excellency M. Gérard, Minister Plenipotentiary of France, near the United States of North America, to the Discourse of the Chiefs of the Nation Delaware, the youngest children of the great King—

MY DEAR CHILDREN:

I hear with very sincere joy the voice of the Chiefs of the nation Delaware, who are deputed to treat with their brothers of the United States. Those are the great and good friends of the great King your ancient father, who will see reign with satisfaction betwixt them and you peace and good friendship; he will indeed be very sensible to learn by your speeches that I will forward him, that altho' the time and absence, your hearts are still the same for him, and that you have taken notice with pleasure, of the speech I got made understood to you, and that you have learnt he will always have the friendship for you, as when he was your Father.

Since you rejoice yourselves to see that he hath helped your brothers of the United States in their trouble, it is but just you that would know how this changing hath been operated, in order you may be able to inform of the particulars your brothers of the other nations. Ever since the French warriors have left America the King of England and his Councellors have not ceased to oppress the citizens of the United States they have attempted [*sic*] to their liberty, to their honor, and to their goods; those citizens have opposed to this nothing else but supplications and respectful remonstrances; but England very far from having the sentiments of a tender mother, was in such a passion that she declared she would not look any more upon the Americans as her children— and that she would grant them no longer her protection. The Americans would have been very happy if she had kept her word, but in the time she carried into their cities and habitations arms and fire, and ordered to butcher men, women and children; then they determined to defend and protect themselves, and indeed they have shewed the greatest bravery and courage. The King, your ancient father, who is bound with sentiments of justice &

who would be glad to see every man happy, seeing your brothers of the United States abandoned to themselves took them by the hand, and hath contracted with them a sincere and solid friendship; he in consequence gets his warriors to act in the four parts of the world in order they should not be exposed to the tyranny and revenge of the English; and he will be for the future as busy to procure peace to his new and good friends, as to his own subjects.

You are in the right to hope that this union will give you new proofs of [the] goodnesses of your ancient father; he will always encourage the good intentions of the United States towards you.

You have just now been hearing the voice of your ancient father; I render faithfully to you his thoughts and the sentiments of his heart; do not you ever forget them, and go inform his ancient children of the other nations of his speech.

I will endeavor to send an officer in your region who will testify that the great King hath joined his arms to those of the United States, and that his warriors have lifted the battle-axe against the enemies of your brothers of the United States, the which are now ours.

You have been able to judge by yourselves how the sentiments of England were barbarous & unjust, since they proposed to you to murder even the wives and children of your brothers of the United States—who have always been desirous to have peace with you, and who have invited you to smoke quietly your pipes & to take care of your wives and children.

The Great King applauds, by my voice, to the wisdom of the Chiefs and warriors who have set in this party, and he exhorts you to let yourselves [be] guided in any occasion by the advice of the United States. He pities those of his ancient children of any nation who were foolish enough to have let themselves [be] seduced, without doubt, by people who have told them things that are not [true], as he would see them be happy. Go inform them of his way of thinking, and tell them that their ancient Father will see with pleasure that all his ancient children will make friendship with the citizens of the United States, who are your brothers and ours; and that they may unite their fortunes with those of those citizens bound in the same plan as they, & who are sticked to it by their professions, rather than to deal with a vagrant fortune of strangers who go in your countries, but with the intention to strip or to subdue you; add to these speeches that if his ancient children are docile to his voice and to his advice they will soon

have occasion to applaud themselves to have taken confidence in the speeches of their ancient Father.

I am compatible to the uneasiness that hath occasioned you the want of cloaths; your ancient father will be sensible to it. The French merchants are very desirous to furnish to the citizens of the United States, their friends and brothers, all they want; but till now it hath not been possible for them to bring any goods to these States without exposing their liberty, their life, and their fortune to the revenge of the English, who maintain upon the Great Lake ships designed to oppose themselves to this: But the Great King is employing means to repress those who trouble the commerce, & then the French will bring with abundance in the sea-ports of the United States all sorts of goods; and their citizens, your brothers, will be very glad to share said goods with you against your furs.

Your ancient Father loves still his children of whom the speeches are very agreeable to his grand Counsellor in America.

Witness whereof he hath signed these to value forever,

[GÉRARD]

SUPPLIES FOR FORT LAURENS

[Summary of letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Headquarters, Pittsburgh, May 30, 1779, to Maj. Frederick Vernon. Printed in *Pa. Archives*, XII, 121–22.]

Distressed by news, brought by Moses Killbuck, of extremity at Fort Laurens for lack of supplies; commissary made false returns. Capt. Robert Beall, sent with provisions, should have arrived before May 22. Warning of enemy's designs; inner earthworks should be thrown up. Warns Vernon not to let starved men eat too much when supplies arrive.

WESTMORELAND AID REQUIRED

[Summary of letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Headquarters, Pittsburgh, May 31, 1779, to Col. Archibald Lochry. Printed in *ibid.*, 122–23.]

Rejoices to hear of reënforcement under Colonel Chambers,[1] who must wait on Brodhead for orders. Companies of Captains Jack and Stokeley are to be mustered. The inhabitants of Westmoreland County are fond of public expenditure on their own behalf, but will not serve their country when in need. The poor soldiers at Fort Laurens nearly starved for want of horses that the inhabitants might have furnished. Believes the blame not due to Lochry. Fort Laurens is now threatened, seventy-five militia ordered from Westmoreland County.

[Summary of letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Headquarters, Pittsburgh, June 3, 1779, to Col. Archibald Lochry. Printed in *ibid.*, 123–24.]

Two Delawares bring word that Wyandot are coming to make peace. Private advices that Butler[2] is preparing to raid west of Laurel Hills. Seventy-five more militia to be in readiness; the enemy are to strike when the strawberries are ripe. A small post to be built at Kittanning defended by a fieldpiece. A party of white and Delaware scouts now out toward Mingo towns, will give notice of their approach.

[1] Col. William Chambers, commander of the Third Battalion of Cumberland County militia, had been ordered to reënforce the militia of Westmoreland County. See *Pa. Archives*, VII, 305. The muster rolls of the companies of rangers on service in Bedford and Westmoreland counties during 1779 are found in *id.*, 2nd ser., XIV, 448-51. Col. William Chambers appears to have been the son of the founder of Chambersburg, and the younger brother of Col. James Chambers of the Continental army.

[2] On Col. John Butler's plans for invasion, see *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 413-14.

MESSAGES FOR DELAWARES

[Col. Daniel Brodhead to Big Cat. 2H14–17. Letter Book.]

HEAD QUARTERS PITTSBURGH June 3rd 79

Machingwe Keeshuck to Hingwapooshes and the Counsellors at Coshocking

BROTHERS:

I have receiv'd your kind letter of the 29th last Month and am now about sending you an answer to it.

Brothers: It is with great pleasure that I hear the good Spirit has convinced the Hurons of the good Intentions of their Brothers the Americans, and of the Wickedness and deceit of the English, and I shall be glad to take them by the hand and bid them a hearty Welcome to Fort pitt, likewise John Monteur, and they may depend on good Usage from me, so long as they act like friends to the United States, But I shall be particularly rejoiced to see so good a Man as Hingwepooshes.

Brothers: I believe the Enemy talk much of comeing to Fort Laurens but their swivels can do but little damage to that Fort and if I can have timely notice which I do not doubt of receiving I shall soon take their Swivels, but I apprehend they will be soon sick of their Expedition before it is well begun.

Brothers: I am sorry to hear the Tawas and Chipwas go to war against the Americans. Indeed I always understood they were quiet, but if they are foolish Enough to be directed by the bad Spirit, they must and will receive the reward. The bad men, The Shawnese, Mingo's and Wyondaughalle Gang ought to be kept at a great distance from good men and they shall very soon pay very dear for the Mischief they have done.

Brothers: I believe Capt Bird is much like a duck he has a large mouth and makes a great Noise but like other Birds he will be ready to fly as soon as the hunters come near him.

Brothers: The Delaware chiefs left Philad[a] about Thirty Nights ago to see Gen[l] Washington and the American Army, but I suppuse they are on the road to this place now. I shall immediately send an express to them and inform them that their Uncles they Hurons are comeing to meet them here and I will likewise send a speech to the Wyandots to wipe of[f] their Sweat and make them strong on their Journy.

Brothers: I always leave it to your Messengers to return when they think proper but I always want some of my brothers to stay with me to enable me to send any news I may hear from afar

I am your fr'd & brother.

MACHINGWE KEESHUCK

[Summary of letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Headquarters, Pittsburgh, June 3, 1779, to John Heckewelder. Printed in *Pa. Archives*, XII, 124–25.]

Thanks him for favor of May 28. Trusts the fidelity of Montour. Now has Colonel Clark's journal with account of his capture of Vincennes; disapproves his killing of Indians. Has scouts out toward the Mingo towns. Hoping for Indian goods so messenger may be rewarded.

DELAWARES EN ROUTE FROM EAST

[Col. Daniel Brodhead to the Delaware chiefs returning from Congress. 2H18–19. Letter Book.]

HEAD QUARTERS PITTSBURGH June 5th 1779

BROTHERS THE CHIEFS OF THE DELEWARE NATION:

I have rec[d] a Letter from our Brother Hinguapooshees informing me that your Uncles the Hurons are on the road to this place and they desire you to be Strong and loose no time on the road but hasten your Journey to the old Council fire

Brothers: Your Friends are all well and desire to See you here

Brothers: I have some matters of great Consequence to relate to you when you come here

Brothers: I hope you return with Joyfull Hearts having seen your Brethern the Congress and heard what they had to say to you. I send this letter to wipe of[f] your Sweat and make you Strong on your Journey

MACHINGWE KEESHUCH

BRODHEAD'S REPORTS

[Summary of letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Pittsburgh, June 5, 1779, to Gen. George Washington. Printed in *Pa. Archives*, XII, 125–28.]

Acknowledges favors of May 16 and 21. Fort Laurens provisioned with difficulty; horses worn out; no water communication with Tuscarawas. Concentrating at Fort McIntosh. Has ordered post at Kanawha evacuated. Militia drafts and reinlistment of regulars. Peace with Wyandot Indians probable. Desires to punish Mingo. Craft being built. Courts-martial. Need of shoes. Escort of Delawares from the East. Maintenance of Fort Laurens. Suggested attempt on Natchez.

[Summary of letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Pittsburgh, June 5, 1779, to Pres. Joseph Reed. Printed in *id.*, VII, 465–69.]

Garrison at Fort Laurens had to be sent in or perish, all came in May 16, except twenty-five under Major Vernon; they lived on herbs, salt, and cowhides until relief arrived on May 26. This post impracticable to maintain. A post to be established at Kittanning. Would wish to coöperate with force moving up the Susquehanna. Need of Indian goods. Reward for Indian scalps would be useful. The Pennsylvania-Virginia boundary dispute. Offensive measures are preferable to defensive. Westmoreland County delinquent, has twice refused men and horses.

WESTERN POSTS AND OFFICERS

[Summary of letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Pittsburgh, June 6, 1779, to Timothy Pickering. Printed in *id.*, XII, 128–29.]

Regiment deficient in officers. Lieutenant Hardin and Captain Swearingen[1] intend to resign. Both have great merit, especially the former, who is well calculated for frontier service.

[1] Van Swearingen, known in frontier parlance as "Indian Van," was a native of Berkeley County, Va. About 1774 he removed to the West, settling on the

[Summary of letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Pittsburgh, June 7, 1779, to Capt. Samuel Moorhead. Printed in *ibid.*, 129.]

Moorhead's company reduced and no probability of recruiting it. One officer is enough for seventeen privates. Grants Moorhead leave to resign, leaving Carnahan[1] in command.

[Summary of letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Pittsburgh, June 11, 1779, to Col. Archibald Lochry. Printed in *ibid.*, 130.]

Four hundred regulars ready to give Butler a warm reception. Fort Laurens must again be provisioned. Spy discovered an Indian party on Licking Creek, seven miles this side of Venango.[2] Plans for a garrison at Kittanning. Recruiting service.

NEWS FROM INDIAN COUNTRY

[Big Cat to Col. Daniel Brodhead. 1H94. In handwriting of John Heckewelder.]

COOCHOCKING June 13th 1779

Hinguepooshees to Machinque Geeshuch as follows.

BROTHER:

According to Your request I sent for all the Dellawares who were scattered about to come in to me here at Coochocking. I now have received a Belt from Captn Pipe, who desires me to beg

Monongahela in what is now Fayette County, Pa. At the outbreak of the Revolution he raised an independent company of riflemen which, on Aug. 9, 1776, was attached to the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment. In the battle of Stillwater (1777) he was wounded and taken prisoner. He served with his regiment until Aug. 10, 1779, when he resigned and, settling in Washington County, became (1781-84) its first sheriff. In 1785 he removed to the neighborhood of Wellsburg on the Ohio, where he was employed in scouting during the Indian wars. His death occurred at the age of fifty-one years, Dec. 2, 1793. His only daughter, Drusilla, married Capt. Samuel Brady.

[1] Ensign John Carnahan entered the Continental service, Jan. 22, 1777, and resigned May 13, 1779. He was employed wholly at the western posts.

[2] Probably the present Big Sandy Creek in Venango County, Pa. Down this stream an Indian trail led from the western Indian villages.

leave for them to stay at Pluggy's Town, the place where he is now gathering his People together.

Brother: I desire You to consider this Matter with my Chieffs, and return me soon an Answer. I myself cannot consent to this Matter.

Brother: Capt[a] Bird is flying over to Detroit again with his Men and Cannon. He said he found that nobody had a mind to go to War with him, and therefore his Buissness was over. Those Mingoes and Shawnese who were at first to go with him, are also gone home again, so that that Campaign is finished.

Brother: I sent John Monture and three more of my Men to carry, and deliver Your Speech to the Wyondotts; likewise to hurry them on to Pittsburgh. These Messengers I expect back again in three Days.

Brother: Wyondoughella and his young Men have had some dispute together. he is for making off to a great distance, and it is likely part of his gang will join the Pipe; for they say they find that he has no good in him.

Brother: In a Speech of Capt[a] Pipe's to the Wyondotts, he desires them to be strong, and brisk in finishing a Friendship with the States, as the only Way for them and their Chilldren to fare well.

I am your friend and Brother

HINGQAPOOSHEES.

To COL[o] BRODHEAD, Command[t] Western Departm[t]

[Delaware chiefs to Col. Daniel Brodhead. 3H157–59. Transcript.]

COOCHOCKING, June y[e] 17th 1779.

Hinguapooshees and the whole Dellaware Councill to Col[o] Brodhead, as follows:

BROTHER MACHINGWE GEESHUCH:

My messengers returned yesterday from Lower Sandusky where they delivered your speech, as also my message, which was imediately carried over to the Main Chieff Bawbee at Detroit. Though I suppose the messages were met by the head men from over the Lake, they being expected six days ago at Upper Sandusky on their journey to Fort Pitt.

Brother: The Wyondotts, Chibways, Tawas, Potawatamen & all those Nations over the Lake, went after long councilling to their Father the English & told him the following:

Father! we have had a great councill, & have considered of that what you have given us. We, therefore, tell you, we have found out it is a bad thing, which as we will have no longer to do with it; we deliver unto you again (throwing the hatchet down to him.) We now tell you that we are going to our brothers the Virginians, with whom we will make peace & receive that which is good.

To which the Commandant rose in a passion, & returned the following answer:

Children! You are welcome to do so, you know that I am not afraid of you, I have fought before now with you & have conquered, & am able to fight you again, and even both you and the Americans together. I have now a very strong fort built, and soldiers enough, & will soon have a great many more. I also tell you Monture is out of my hands at present, but I do not think he is altogether out of my reach.

This much from the Comand[t] of Detroit to the Wyondotts.

Brother: My messengers also tell me that when Capt[n] Bird had come to the Mingoe Towns, to gather men to go with him to Fort Lawrence, that the Half King went there, made a speech, & turned back again; after which they, the Mingoes, told Capt[n] Bird that he would be obliged to go alone to that place, they having no inclination to go with him.

Now, *Brother:* I have the pleasure to inform you also, that my Grand children the Cherokees are come to see me. There are fourteen men & one woman whom I have lodged in my house. The Head Warrior of Choti named the Raven is along with them.[1]

Brother: In six days from this I shall rise, & take these my Grand Chilldren by the hand, & bring them to my brothers the Americans, where we will rejoice together.

Brother: I desire you will send imediately to my Chieffs, & inform them of this, likewise desire them to make all haste they can, & come up and meet me at Fort Pitt.

Brother: Should my oncles the Wyondotts not be here yet at the time I appoint to go to Fort Pitt, I shall leave my brother

[1] The Raven was a distinguished chieftain of the Overhill Cherokee Indians, whose chief town was Chote. The Raven signed the Watauga Treaty (1775) with Henderson's Transylvania Company, that led to the settlement of Kentucky. He appears to have died before 1788, as he signed none of the later treaties. His Indian titles were Savanooka and Coronah.

here, who will take them imediately by the hand when they come here, & go with them to you.

I am your friend and brother,

HINGWAPOOSHEES.

TO BROTHER MACHINGWE GEESHUCH.

GARRISONS AND POSTS

[Col. Daniel Brodhead's Orders. 1NN67. Summary.]

June 14, 1779, Lt. Col. Richard Campbell was ordered with a party of officers and men, and some of the Maryland corps to escort provisions to Fort Laurens, and for Col. Campbell upon his arrival there to relieve Major Vernon and the garrison there with 75 rank and file of the party going out with him and for Col. C. to take the command of Fort Laurens: To proceed immediately and Major Vernon and garrison to come in at once bringing all unnecessary stores at Fort Laurens to Fort McIntosh, and Major Vernon to come on to Head Quarters.

June 17, 1779, Colonel Brodhead orders Lt. Col. Bayard to go to Kittaning and erect a stockade fort there,[1] the dimensions of Fort Crawford, to keep out large scouts there, of at least 40 rank and file, to take under his command Lt. John Carnahan and his men and provisions at Fort Crawford.

REËNFORCEMENT FOR VIRGINIA REGIMENT

[Summary of letter of Gov. Thomas Jefferson, Williamsburg, June 19, 1779, to Gen. George Washington. Printed in Paul L. Ford (ed.), *Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1892–99), II, 240–41.]

News of Clark's capture of Vincennes, of Shelby's victory at Chickamauga,[2] and of Bowman's expedition against the Shaw-

[1] This post was named Fort Armstrong. For a sketch see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 201, note 39. Documents concerning its building are in the present volume, *post*, 373–74.

[2] Col. Evan Shelby, for whom see *Dunmore's War*, 48, note 86. In April, 1779, Shelby gathered a band of militia from the southwestern frontier of Virginia

nee.[1] The new levies from the frontier counties, amounting to somewhat less than 300 men are ordered to join the Ninth Regiment[2] at Pittsburgh.

MESSAGES FOR DELAWARES

[Col. Daniel Brodhead to the Delawares. 2H19–22. Letter Book.]

HEAD QUARTERS PITTSBURGH June 20th 79

Machingwe Keeshuck. to Hingwepooshes.

BROTHER: I thank you for your friendly letter of the 13th Inst

Brother: If Capt Pipe thinks himself A Delaware and Wishes well to our people at Coshocking I cannot see any reason for his Inclination to stay at Pluggs Town It may be he thinks the Mingo's better than his own Nation, if he does he had better go and live with them, but if he means well to the Americans he had

and northwestern North Carolina. They sailed in pirogues and canoes down the Tennessee, and surprised a band of robber Indians settled on Chickamauga Creek and the great bend of the Tennessee. Much plunder was captured, including Indian goods sent out by the British for a council ordered by Hamilton. The American troops sank their craft, and returned overland to their homes.

[1] This refers to the campaign of Col. John Bowman from Kentucky in May, 1779. Bowman, who was county lieutenant, ordered out an expedition to attack the Shawnee town of Chillicothe. Three hundred volunteers under Captains William Harrod, Levi Todd, John Holder, and Benjamin Logan, rendezvoused at the mouth of Licking, crossed to the site of Cincinnati, and marched thence to the Indian village about sixty miles distant. They succeeded in surprising the enemy who gathered into the council house when their eminent chief, Blackfish, was killed. A report having reached the whites that Girty was approaching with large Indian reënforcements, an immediate retreat was ordered. The Shawnee pursued and attacked the invaders, who at one time made a stand and gave battle. Nine whites were killed and four wounded. The expedition brought off about 170 Indian horses, and a large amount of plunder, averaging $110 per man. The affair was not considered a success by Kentucky annalists, and there is no doubt that Clark's possible advance from Vincennes to Detroit was checked by this ill-advised expedition. There seems, however, to be good evidence that the Shawnee were much startled and alarmed by the invasion of their territory, and that this alarm, communicating itself to the other tribes, prevented the threatened attack on Fort Laurens.

[2] Upon the reorganization of the Virginia forces in September, 1778, the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment was consolidated with the Ninth, and was thereafter so designated.

better come and live at Woolhanding[1] where he always liv'd Well, and I desire you to Inform Capt Pipe y^t my Warriors will not know him from other Indians if he stay at Plugg's Town, and that it is high Time for our friends to live together, and likewise for the Enemy so y^t they may be distinguished.

Brother: The greatest Coward makes the most boast every where, particularly where there is strong drink. I suppose Capt. Duck is one of those and finding he could not get tools to fight for him he thought it time to fly away, but he is Mistaken if he thinks himself safe at detroit or any where on this Island.

Machingwe Geeshuch to the Chiefs of the Delawares

Brothers: Our Chiefs are now come and I am almost Weary of Waiting for the Wyandots Their father is now out of the Way and it is high time for them to come and hear the good News sent from Congress the King of France and the King of Spain to all the Nations except the Mingo's who We Intend to kill.

Brothers: Two Messengers are order'd to Coshocking and I hope the Hurons [Wyandots] are now there wth Monture and the other Messengers that Went to Meet them.

Brothers: Wyonduchella is a bad Man him and his people are none of our blood—Tell him not to come where my Warriors are.

Brother: I shall be glad to see you wth Some of the Wise Men of Coshocking at this place when the Hurons are here and am your fr'd & Brother

MAGCHINGWE GEESHUCK.

DELAWARES RETURN FROM CONGRESS

[The Delaware chiefs returning from Congress to Big Cat and others. 1H95–96. Contemporary transcript.]

PITTSBURGH June the 20th 1779

Gillalimond & the Chiefs who are with him to Hinguapooshees and the other Chiefs of the Delaware Nation at Coochocking

BROTHERS:

We desire to inform you that we are all safely returned from Philadelphia to this place.

[1] For Walhonding Creek see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 48, note 76. This seems to have been Pipe's original home, whence in 1778 he went to live on the Cuyahoga. For Pluggy's Town, whither he was planning to remove, see *ante*, 266, note 1. It was noted for the hostility of its inhabitants.

Brothers: Now my Friends we have brought with us the Good works we were about to finish.

Brothers: My Friends we desire you to inform likewise our Women and Children that they may now pursue their Labours in Peace and without Fear.

Brothers: We desire you to not take Notice of the bad people who are disposed to do bad works, they do not deserve your pity And we see with our Eyes that they will feel a great many Blows before this Summer is out.

Brothers: Cullpeckaumin fell of his Horse and got a little hurt so that he could not come on, but he will be here before many Days are past And three Boys remain at Princetown at College

Brothers: When we went away we spoke to our Uncles the the Wyondats and desired them to meet us here on our Return at this great Council Fire and we are very glad that our Uncles seem disposed to make peace with our Brothers the Americans it will be good for them their Wives and Children.

Brothers: It may be our uncles are on the Road We send two of our Young Men to see and hear at Coochocking and will wait here untill they Return.

Brothers: We are certain if our Uncles will come now they may enjoy Peace with our Brothers.

Brother Hingwepooshes: If our Uncles are not yet come to our Town we desire you to give them notice once more and inform us whether they may be expected. And we further Desire you will send off an Express the same Day this comes to your Hand with certain Intelligence about them.

Brother: We have with Col° Brodhead (Maghingwe Keeshuch) considered what you have said of Pipes Message and we think it is very wrong in him to ask leave to stay at Pluggy's Town we know his old Town Woolhanding was very good for him before he went away and left it And we know no reason why he should not return there if his Heart is good as we hope it is and therefore we desire he may come and sit down there.

[Col. Daniel Brodhead to the Delawares. 2H23–25. Letter Book.]

PITSBURGH June the 22d 1779.

BROTHERS:

There was a great good Man called White Eyes he was an honest Man and a great Counsellor but it was the will of God to call him to himself last Fall.

Brothers: Every good Man was grieved for the loss of this wise and good Counsellor and because I believe his Relations must be much troubleed I present them this wampum to wipe of[f] their Tears and remove sorrow from your Hearts.

Brothers: I buried him in a fine place and put a shade over the grave to keep the Rains Storms and Sun off.

Brothers: There was likewise a young Man who Called me Father and I loved him as my Son Some wicked person in the Night hurt him & he is Dead.

Brothers: I took great care of this Young Man and tried every method to find out the Villain that hurt him but because it was done in the Dark I could not find him out.

Brothers: I buried him in a fine place and put a Shade over the Grave to keep the Rains Storms and Sun off.

Brothers: I know that his Relations must be sorry for him and I give them this Wampum to wipe off their Tears & remove Sorrow from your Hearts.

[MAGHINGWE KEESHUCH]

NEW ALLIANCES SOUGHT

[The Delaware chief to Col. Daniel Brodhead. 1H97. A. L.][1]

June 22d 1779

Machingwe Keeshuch

BROTHER: I want to inform you what I intend to say to the Indian Nations that are coming to this place especially the Big Cat wherever this meets him to push on as fast as possible

Now listen to me my Grandson Cherokees I take you softly by the Hand & desire you to come on as fast as possible to our Great Council Fire here in the Forks.

[1] This document is in the handwriting of Colonel Brodhead. It is likewise found in his letter book (Draper Mss., 2H20-27) in a different handwriting.

To the Hurons.

Uncles: We were very glad to hear from you this Spring when you informed us that you were inclined to make peace with our Brothers the Americans And now wherever this Meets you we desire you &[our Grand Children the Tawas & Chepways & Potowatomies to come forward as soon as possible to this great Council Fire at Fort Pitt

To Nimho.

My Grandson: When I went away you spoke to me to speak in your behalf to our Brothers the Americans and now I tell you if you have a mind to come in you must make haste. And if you find any others who are inclined for peace Send runners immediately to inform Maghingwe Keeshuch (Col Brodhead) of it

To Marcus[1]

My Grandson: You desire our American Brethren to take pity on the Shawnese & Mohickons Now you must know why you say so. We have desired Nimho our Grand Child to come in & send to such others as are desirous to have peace & you may do so too and then you can come with them to Maghingwe Keeshuch & inform him of your request for them.

[Col. Daniel Brodhead to Delawares returning from Congress. 2H28-31. Letter Book.]

HEAD QUARTERS PITSBURGH June 23d 1779

Maghingwe Geshauch to Caleylamont & the other Deputies of the Deleware Nation

BROTHERS:

I have considered the several Speeches which have been addressed to you by the Great Warrior General Washington by Congress and the French Ambassador likewise your Remonstrance and Speeches to them.

Brothers: You find that our Great Warrior is an Exceeding good Man he does not aim as the English do at taking away the lives of Men who have never injured him nor does his [he] Wish his Warriors to live by plundering & Stealing as the English & Mingoes do but he is always prepard to punish such bad Nations who Wish to live by Murder & Robery

[1] Marcus was of the Mahican tribe. His temperament was engaging and he was very popular with the other chiefs. He interceded on the Moravians' behalf in 1781, when they were being roughly treated by Captains Pipe and Wingenund. See John Heckewelder, *Narrative*, 272.

Brothers: You have heard what the King of France's Ambassador hath told you & you may depend the Americans your Brethern are very strong in their Alliance & Friendship with other Great Nations & that the English and their Allies must soon submit

Brothers: I am very sorry that the Great American Council have not yet receiv'd Goods to furnish you with but you may depend on their getting them for you very soon.

Brothers: I am sorry that any Officer could be unmindful of Your services or try to create you Enemies where you have Friends but good Men will always regard You as they ought to hold you fast by the Hand, I freely acknowledge that the Delewares of Coochoguing have been very serviceable to their Brethren the Americans & I have reason to know it This I will inform the Congress of as soon as our Talks are finished with the other Nations And I expect your future good Conduct will convince the World of the rectitude of your professions

Brothers: Congress have told you that Brethren would always assist one another on every Occasion, And I tell you God Almighty calls on all good Men to punish the Wicked. One of your Young Men not the smallest amongst the Nation, being convinc'd of this has already assisted in punishing some of the Wicked & I shall send his Name to the great Warrior who spoke to You in New Jersey to have it Written in a Book never to be forgotten. because he has opened the Way to do Honor to our Deleware Nation And I hope many will follow his Example

Brothers: When other Nations come to Treat I shall consult with you what to say to them & I hope we shall act Wisely & always as one Man for the good of our Children and Grand Children

Brothers: I have now the pleasure to inform you certainly that our Army in Carolina has beat the English & has kill'd and taken fourteen hundred and sixty of their Warriors & scattered all the rest so that they their provisions Artillery & all they have must by this Time be in our Hands & General Washington will soon conquer the rest

Brothers: I desire you will keep this Writing safe because life is uncertain especially when we are going to War & this will remain as a Testimony of my Regard for You

ORDERS FROM COMMANDER IN CHIEF

[Gen. George Washington to Col. Daniel Brodhead. Washington Papers. Draft.]

HEAD QUARTERS NEW WINDSOR June 23. 1779

DEAR SIR:

I have duly received your several favours[1] of the 14th 22[d] and 29th of May and 5th of June with their inclosures. The situation of affairs in this quarter prevented my acknowleging some of them sooner.

With respect to the men raised in Monongahala and Ohio Counties—such of them as were raised without proper authority or contrary to the terms prescribed are certainly not intitled to pay from the public; but whether it may be expedient or not to pay them, I must leave to you who are on the spot and can best judge of circumstances. On one hand all unnecessary expence is to be avoided and irregular levies of men discouraged—on the other it is to be considered what effect a refusal of payment may have upon the minds of the militia and what influence upon their future services.

With respect to the proposed incorporation of Heaths and Morehead's companies with the regiments, as I am unacquainted with the establishment or terms on which they were raised I cannot determine its propriety. But if it could be effected consistent with their establishment it would be desireable, taking care to annex them to the troops of the state to which they belong.

I would recommend however at all events the reinlistment of all the men of the independent companies, engaged for a limited term, who are willing to enter into the established corps during the war. The bounty to be given must be governed by what is allowed by the state in whose troops they engage.

I am very happy to see the favourable accounts you communicate of the friendly disposition of some of those tribes who have been heretofore inimical. I hope they may be sincere and I doubt not you will do every thing in your power to confirm them. I approve your idea of inflaming the rivalship which is said to subsist between the Wyondots and Mingoes—and I shall be glad it may be in your power to induce the former to aid you in some

[1] The letter of Brodhead to Washington, dated May 14, 1779, does not appear to have been preserved.

decisive stroke against the latter. If it can be done with a good prospect of success, the attempt ought to be made. Besides the happy influence it would have on the Indians you have more immediately to do with, by encouraging your friends and intimidating your enemies; it would operate as an useful diversion in favour of the expedition under General Sullivan.

The authority for drawing out the neighbouring militia on an emergency must come from the States to which they belong. I would wish you to make application to them to know from what counties and in what manner it is to be done. In the mean time you will act as necessity and the good of the service may require.

About three weeks since the enemy made a movement up the North River and took post at Kings ferry on the opposite sides of the river—at Verplanks and Stoney points. They have strongly fortified the latter and appear to intend keeping possession. 'Tis probable their ultimate design may be against the forts that protect the communication of the River. To counteract them if this should be their view, I have moved the main body of the army for the present into the Clove.

For some time past a variety of flattering accounts have been circulating of a capital defeat of the enemy to the Southward near Charlestown—an official account has been long expected; but has not arrived. A late paper from New York seems to invalidate the report and lessen our expectations.

I am Dr Sir Your most Obed^{t} hum^{l} Servant

[GEORGE WASHINGTON]

BRADY RESCUES THE HENRY CHILDREN

[Summary of letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Headquarters, Pittsburgh, June 23, 1779, to Col. Archibald Lochry. Printed in *Pa. Archives*, XII, 130–31.]

Captain Brady and party overtook the Indians who did mischief near Perry's Mills,[1] retook the prisoners and scalps, killed the chief warrior, mortally wounded several others, took six horses and much plunder.[2] A Delaware chief distinguished himself

[1] This was at the settlement not far from Greensburg in the present Hempfield Township, on Little Sewickley Creek. This neighborhood was composed almost wholly of Germans.

[2] This was one of the first exploits of Captain Brady that won for him the title of the "hero of the Pennsylvania border." A vast amount of tradition and many

on this occasion. Western Indians have told Detroit commandant they would make peace with Americans. British have returned from Sandusky to Detroit. Colonel Bayard is at Kittanning to protect the frontier. Lieutenant Hardin has led party to war.

[Summary of letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Headquarters, Pittsburgh, June 24, 1779, to Pres. Joseph Reed. Printed in *id.*, VII, 505–6.]

Three men returning from reconnoitering the Seneca country were chased by a party of Indian warriors and narrowly escaped. Captain Brady with twenty white men and a young Delaware, all well painted, set out for the same locality. Meanwhile the Indian party killed a soldier between Fort Crawford and Fort Hand, proceeded to Sewickley where they killed a woman and four children, and took two children prisoners.[1] Brady met seven of this party[2] about fifteen miles above Kittanning,[3] surrounded and attacked them at dawn, killed the leader, a notorious Munsee chief, mortally wounded others, and retook horses, prisoners, and much plunder.[4] Brady and George Wilson or Nanowland, the Delaware chief, have much merit. Hardin is scouting in the Seneca country. Bayard is building a fort at Kittanning. West-

unverified statements have grown up around it. We present Brodhead's official reports, the recollections of one of the captives, of a contemporary officer, of the youngest brother of Brady, and of an Indian participant.

[1] These were the children of Peter Henry, a German who had moved in 1775 to the Sewickley settlement from Northampton County, Pa. The father had gone in the early morning to the mill; soon after his departure the Indian party broke into the house, killed the mother and the three younger children at once, and took prisoner the three elder. The youngest of the three prisoners was killed soon after leaving the house.

[2] There were nine Indians in the raiding party, two of whom had left before Brady's attack. See *post*, Peter Henry's recollections.

[3] The site of this exploit of Captain Brady is somewhat in doubt. Peter Henry, the surviving prisoner, says that it was at the mouth of Mahoning Creek, but almost all the other authorities say it occurred at or near Red Bank Creek and gave the name to Brady's Bend of the Allegheny. It is worthy of note that the Indian name of Red Bank Creek was Lyca Mahoning (Draper Mss., 2E100). Dr. Draper after carefully considering the evidence decided that the Brady's Bend locality was the most probable site. *Ibid.*, 12E8.

[4] All this plunder was sold at Pittsburgh for the benefit of the scouting party. It was valued at $700 hard money. See *ibid.*, 4S5. The Henrys recovered a Bible which in 1868 was in the possession of one of their descendants. *Ibid.*, 9E76 and 8NN74.

ern Indians are cowed, and desire peace. Has provisions for an expedition up the Allegheny, not at liberty to make it. Had he goods, could humble the Mingo and capture many English. Reward for Indian scalps.

[Summary of letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Headquarters, Pittsburgh, June 25, 1779, to Gen. George Washington. Printed in *id.*, XII, 131–32.]

Brady's exploit in rescuing two prisoners from an Indian party. Plight of the escaping Indians.[1] Brady and Hardin both distinguished partisans. New supplies sent to Fort Laurens. Bayard building at Kittanning. Attitude of western Indians. Findings of general court-martial. Enough provisions on hand for an Allegheny expedition.

[Recollections of Henry Jolly. 6NN37.]

In the spring of the year 1779, Capt. Sam[l] Brady with a party of veterans from the 8th Regt of Pa, left Pittsburgh for the purpose of scouting on the frontier, Between Hannahs town (Greensburgh) Legonier, and the Alleghany river after traversing for some time, the wilds between the frontier & the s[d] river he came on the trail of a party of Indians, going from the frontier settlement he pursued with all possible speed, untill night, Caused them to lie down untill day-break, when the[y] resumed their pursuit, but did not go far untill they heard the sound of a tomahawk, and rightly supposed it to be the Indians preparing to cross the river, he Immediately formed his men into a curve, and came very near them undiscovered, & then charged rapidly, leaving the Indians no possible chance of escape, but by Swiming the river, which they attempted to do, but the fire was so close, & so well directed, that there was not one seen to reach the opposite shore, one scalp only was taken. three Children, two horses, & considerable of other plunder retaken. The writer of this note was in camp in the Commons of Pittsburgh, when

[1] A prisoner who was at the Indian towns afterwards told Peter Henry that when the first Indian who escaped reached the town, almost naked and weak from hunger, there was a great uproar, and much mourning. See *ibid.*, 8NN81-82.

Brady and his party returned with the trophies of their victory, he was also well acquainted with Capt Brady, and every man on that Command.[1]

[Gen. Hugh Brady[2] to Lyman C. Draper. 7NN39. Extract signed.]

DETROIT, Mch 17 1845.

DEAR SIR:

* * * In the summer of 1779 or 80 under Colonel Broadhead commanding the 9th [8th] Pa Regt he [Samuel] was ordered to Pittsburg, Pa. Soon after the Regt arrived an opportunity presented favourable to his entering on that arduous and perilous duty peculiar to Indian warfare. A family residing 30 miles east of Pittsburg had been attack'd and all in the house Massacred but two children, a Boy of 12 years of age, and a girl of 10, which the Indians took prisoners. Captain B. pursued them with 20 men and a friendly Indian as a guide, the 3d day in the afternoon he halted on the South bank of the Red-Bank, a large branch of the Alleghana River to let the party rest, in the process the Indian gu[i]de sprang to his feet and observed "he Smelt fire." Soon the smoke was seen rising over the tops of the treas, in the bottom on

[1] The following are known to have been members of the party: Thomas Bevington (Draper Mss., 12E185), Thomas Lyons (*ibid.*, 12E185); Peter Parchment (*ibid.*, 8NN66); Joseph Buck (*ibid.*, 12E256); Parkman (*ibid.*, 12E257); Joseph (?) Nicholson (*ibid.*, 12E257); and James Amberson (*ibid.*, 12E257).

[2] Gen. Hugh Brady, a young brother of Samuel, was born in the Juniata valley of Pennsylvania, July, 1768. He was a lad of ten years when his father was killed by Indians, an event that caused Samuel to swear vengeance upon the entire Indian race. Hugh went West in June, 1785, and made his home with his brother, Samuel, until the younger Brady entered the army as ensign of infantry, Mar. 9, 1792. He was promoted to a lieutenancy in 1794, and served in Wayne's campaign. In October, 1795, Hugh Brady resigned, but in 1799 accepted a commission as captain for one year, being honorably discharged June 15, 1800. On the outbreak of the War of 1812 he offered his services and was commissioned colonel, was employed on the Niagara frontier and severely wounded at the battle of Chippewa. At the close of the war he remained in the regular army, being brevetted brigadier-general in 1822. In 1825 he made his headquarters at Detroit, where he was stationed until his death, April 15, 1851. He was inspector-general for the troops, major-general by brevet in 1848, making frequent visits to the posts of the Northwest. In 1845 Dr. Draper began a correspondence with General Brady from which we extract this document.

the opposite side of the stream. The Indian then remarked, if those are the warriors that we are in pursuit of as the sun goes to sleep they will give the scalp halloo, and as the sun disappeared from the tops of the treas to the east, they heard five distinct scalp whoops, numbering one for each of their victims.

The Captain in the dead of the night forded the stream, and posted his men with orders to await the report of his rifle as the signal to attack—as day appeared an Indian arose to stir the fire, while so doing, the signal was given. The Indian fell into the kindling embers, the attack was made, the results of which was, that eight of the warriors on the night before gave for the last time the exulting scalp whoop as soon as the prisoners recovered from their surprise the boy requested the Captain to lend him his Tomahawk with which he cut off the head of the man that fell into the fire, remarking that he was the leader of the party, and had killed and scalped his mother.

In three easy days march the Captain returned to Pittsburg and delivered the children to Mr Henry, their Father, who was absent from home when the balance of his family were thus surprised and butchered.

[Recollections of Peter Henry.[1] 12E254–57.]

I was 12 years old at the time of our capture—my sister was taken with [me].[2] We were taken about three miles from Pitts-

[1] Peter Henry Jr. was born in Northampton County, Pa., about 1769, hence was only ten years of age at the time of his capture. He was the eldest of the children, and lived to the age of eighty-nine years. He was a volunteer in the War of 1812, and performed service at Black Rock on the Niagara frontier. He married Margaret Horn and removed to Butler County, six miles from the town of Butler. He was a farmer, a constable for a time, and an excellent citizen. He died on his farm Dec. 2, 1858. In 1851, Dr. Draper secured, through the kind offices of Robert Orr who visited the old man on Draper's behalf, Henry's recollections of his capture and rescue. He told his story in great detail. It may be found in Draper Mss., 8NN72-84. Because of the length of this document we have chosen to reproduce an interview with Peter Henry by Samuel J. Rea of Beaver, Pa., whose papers Dr. Draper purchased. Rea writes at the head of this interview: "Capture of the Henry Children taken from the lips of Peter Henry, by myself." This was in 1855; the facts secured by Rea differ slightly from those elicited by Robert Orr.

[2] Henry was mistaken about the date. He stated that the capture occurred in 1781 or 1782, whereas Brodhead's letter is conclusive evidence that it was in

burg [Greensburg] on the road towards the latter town [Pittsburgh] The indians killed my mother and all the children except myself and sister. It was early in the day, just after Breakfast when the savages came. My father had gone to mill early in the morning when he came back he found everything destroyed. I am now about 85. My sister was younger than me. I was the eldest of all the children, she next. I did not see the other members of the family killed. They cought me near the door and kept me on the outside whilst they killed and murdered. When we were retaken we were put into a canoe and taken from the mouth of the Mahoning to [Fort] Armstrong and from thence to Pittsburg. The indians had taken five horses & a great deal of plunder and were several days on their way to Mahoning. There they thought they were safe judging from the noise they made. My sister rode on one of the horses I walked. They did not abuse us, they were kind to us. They had killed a bear and two deer and had kindled a large fire to jerk the meat at. It was becoming fly blown. There were nine of them when we were taken; but after they crossed the Kiskiminetas, two of them left. These two had yellow hair I believe them to have been whites. When Brady attacked them there were seven of them. The attack was made just at daylight. We lay quite a distance from the fire when the attack began. I did not know that it was to be made before it was made. I did not see Brady or any of his men the night before. The whites came around the fire in a kind of circle and fired on the indians at random. There was only one killed on the spot. A Number of them were wounded as could be seen from the blood on the grass but the whites did not follow them any distance. I was awake when the attack was made. I did not think indians would fire upon indians, and was not therefore afraid. My sister did not halloo to the white men not to shoot us.

As soon as the indians ran off a German by the name of Joseph Buck came to us and spoke to us in German. I had no English then. I understood from Buck that there [were] 24 men with Brady at that time. There was an indian with Brady's party.

1779. Henry's sister, captured when he was, stated that she was eight years old at the time, and her brother two years older. Peter Henry's son said (Draper Mss., 9E76) that his father died in 1858 at the age of eighty-nine.

Margaret Henry married first one Stoner, and then a Mr. Haines. She was living near Greensburg in 1850, where she was visited by S. L. Carpenter at the request of Dr. Draper. She was unable to speak English, but through an interpreter her recollections were obtained. Draper Mss., 8NN67.

The whites gathered up the indian meat and breakfasted on it. They wanted me to scalp the dead Indian but I would not.[1]

My sister did not go near the dead indian. The indians had taken their horses up into a little bottom the evening before, and tied them there. The whites found out from [me] where they were. They went first and got four horses but at last they found the mare and her colt. The Savages lost everything They had stacked their arms on the side of the fire where the whites made the heaviest attack. The whites came down the hill side. Their camp was not just at the junction of the Allegh[eny] and Mahoning but close by. The fire was about a rod from the creek. The indians had killed none but our family at the time they took us. Whilst they were going in they killed a militia Captain. Brady knew this party had done it from the fact that his coat was found among the spoils taken from them. A company came from Westmoreland for the purpose of getting myself and sister and they took us from Pittsburg to Westmoreland. Parkman and Nicholson were two of Brady's men. Amberson[2] who formerly lived on the old Franklin Road on Canaquanessing Creek in this County (Butler) was also there. My sister is dead; she died about two years since.

[Recollections of Cornplanter.[3] 4S124–26.]

Mr. Ira Marsh who has resided since a boy within a half mile of Cornplanter—knew him well for something like 30 years, and speaks the Seneca language fluently, and was much engaged in assisting Cornplanter in his correspondence—says he has heard Cornplanter say that he was with the Indian party in the affair

[1] It seems probable that Peter was ashamed of the episode that represents him tomahawking and scalping the chief. His sister said: "One of Brady's men gave Peter a hatchet or tomahawk, and he knocked all the teeth out of the dead Savage and nearly cut off his head." *Ibid.*, 8NN67.

[2] James Amberson was born at Salem, N. J., in July, 1757. At an early age he removed West and in the first years of the Revolution volunteered in James O'Hara's company of regulars. He was a good woodsman and hunter, and accompanied Captain Brady on many of his scouts. In 1782 he was sent by General Irvine as a messenger to General Clark in Kentucky. After the close of the war he acted as packer across the mountains. He settled first east of Pittsburgh, then on Conequonessing Creek in Butler County. His death occurred at the latter place, May 26, 1812. See interview with his son in Draper Mss., 4S1.

[3] For a sketch of Cornplanter, see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 160, note 84.

at Brady's Bend. Cornplanter and his Indian party were encamped on the flat on the east side of the river, and within the bend, and had either 2 or 4 prisoners, Mr. Marsh forgets which. That in the evening Brady stood on the high hill on the west side, about opposite the middle of the Bend, and hallooed over, and asked in the Indian language how many prisoners they had? Cornplanter told him. Were they going to burn any? Yes. When? To-night. Brady then desired that they would postpone it till the next night, when his party would arrive and be present. This was agreed to. That night Brady and his men crossed over on Goose-bar,[1] some distance below, unexpectedly fell upon the camp; killed several and rescued the prisoners. Cornplanter seized a billet of wood by the fire, and with it plunged into the river, placing the billet so as to protect his head from bullets. He escaped over in safety, though several balls struck the stick.[2]

FRIENDLY MESSAGES FROM WESTERN INDIANS

[Big Cat to Col. Daniel Brodhead. 1H101–4. In handwriting of John Heckewelder.]

COOCHOCKING June ye 24th 1779.

Machingwapooshees to Colo Brodhead as follows:

BROTHER MACHINGWE GEESHUCH:

I have received Your Speech of the 20th instant, and have done what You requested of me to do.

Brother: Two Messengers came to me last Night with Speeches from the Wyondotts, who desire me to be strong, in my Works, as my Works shall prove fair, and to a good end. And that they the Wyondotts have nothing more to hinder them from taking hold of that good thing which I have hold of, and for which purpose were now already on their Journey to me, and their Brethren the Americans.

Brother: Now further say my Oncles the Wyondotts to their Brethren the Americans. You know very well that We have heard

[1] This point in the river is indicated on a map in Draper Mss., 3E7. It seems improbable that Brady was on the west side of the Allegheny, but so his brother, William P. Brady, described the event.

[2] Another tradition represents that Cornplanter after swimming the river hid underneath a shelving rock, still known as Cornplanter's Rock.

one another, and now I inform You that I am on the Road already to You there is nothing in my Way no more. But I could not send only some of my Boys to see You, as you desired of me, and told me even if I only was to send a few Boys at *present* You would be contented.

4 Strings of Black Wampum, 2 to each Speech.

Brother: The Wyondotts say further to their Brethren the Americans Brother Your desire shall be acomplished. I am ready to go to see You at Fort Pitt. I who are the head of the Wyondotts say this. And as I am going to see You, I shall take both the Chibways and Tawas, and all those Nations who live on the Road betwixt Us and you by the Hand, and so come unto You. But Brother I should not be glad to see too many of Your Young Men when I come to see You, for I fear I should not be able to speak my Mind so free if so many People were present.

2 Strings of White and Black Wampum.

Now the half King says to his Brothers the Americans thus.

Brother: I have allways been accused of not listening to what my Brothers the Americans have said to me. But the matter is thus: I have at all times pointed to those great Men over the Lake; And now I am glad that they have recieved that which You have offered to them, and I shall rise and go with them. Therefore Brother Your desire shall be acomplished. But I have one request which is: not to come this road when You rise to go to the place You are determined to go to. I do not say that You shall go no where! You may do what You are about to do, only I fear if You go this road you will scare my Woomen and Chilldren too much. Brother You have a great and broad Road of Your own, where nobody will be in the Way. take that Road. And Brother If any thing should happen round about Us, when we are sitting together at Fort Pitt, dont let that disturb You, for tho We know, what we have taken hold of, Yet there are some out who have not heard of it yet, but they shall be informed of it as soon as they come in.

2 Strings of White and black Wampum.

Now *Brother:* Captn Pipe has sent to me to be strong in the good Work, and do all that is in my Power towards the good and great Friendship, with our Brethren the Americans.

2 Strings of white Wampum.

Again *Brother:*

Na-wau-leé-kay has also sent to me to be strong in the good and great Work, which is the Friendship, between Us.

2 Strings of white Wampum.

Again *Brother:* Wing-geé-nund Likewise rejoices in the same and desires me to be strong in Working that which is for our good.

2 Strings of white and black Wampum.

And again *Brother:* John Cook says to me, that He is very glad to hear of the great and good Friendship; which at the same [time] puts him in mind how in future times his Chilldren, may Live and Eat without knowing of any Danger.

2 Strings of black Wampum.

Now *Brother Machingwe Geeshuch:* You will see by this all what is spoke to You, and to me, both by the Wyondotts, and others of Our Friends. And as it has been particularly requested by the Chieffs of the Wyondotts over the Lake, that Four Men, and whoom they have named, and of whoom our Brother John Monture is one, shall be forward and industrious in Working that which is for the good of the whole. We therefore, the Councill of Coochocking send this Our Brother John Monture to You, He will not only be able to explain many Matters to You, but also be of great service to You, for you may depend he is Your Friend, and therefore beg You to treat him as the same.

Brother: John Monture is to return as soon as We send Word to You that the Wyondotts are here, or near at this place, then to go with them further to You.

The whole Councill of Coochocking informs their Chieffs at Fort Pitt that they are well, and likewise Salute them, as also their loving Brother Machingwe Geeshuch.

MACHINGWEPOOSHEES and the whole Councill

MILITARY RESERVE AT PITTSBURGH

[Summary of letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Pittsburgh, June 27, 1779, to Timothy Pickering. Printed in *Pa. Archives*, XII, 133.]

Inhabitants of Pittsburgh encroach on rights of garrison, and build fences within a few yards of the bastion. Requests Congressional regulations for clear ground for parades and a musket range.

Blockhouses are claimed by private parties. Western Indians have changed allegiance.

DECEITFUL PLANS OF WYANDOTS

[Alexander McCormick to Col. Daniel Brodhead. 1H104. In handwriting of Heckewelder.]

COOCHOCKING June ye 29th 1779.

Secret Matters. To Col^{o} Brodhead alone.

SIR:

As I am come to this place last Night in my own private Buissness, I thought proper to aquaint You with the true situation of the Wyondotts. It is my Opinion that the Wyondotts are not inclined to make a proper Peace with the Americans at present, they only mean to decieve You a while untill such times as their Corn gets hard, and they have brought it out of Your Way, after which their Tomhawk will be as Sharp against You as ever; provided you do not March out thro their Country before that time, which if done, will assure You a Peace with them before You reach their Towns. As to the Wyondotts at Detroit that motioned at first Friendship to You, they do not incline to be out of favour with the English, on account of the many presents they continually recieve from them. Therefore they, to be in on both sides may perhaps send some few to treat with You, while others are going to War for the English. And to convince You of this, I must only inform You that 4 Days ago 5 of the Wyondotts from over the Lake, who slept 2 Nights in my House went off to War. They are to meet in the Swamps with 25 more from the same Place, then to go either to the Falls of Ohio, or to the Centuck and make a stroke. The reason why they bend their Course that Way is to prevent being discovered by the friendly Indians here. The last Speech they delivered to Captn Bird was: That as soon as their Corn was hard, and they had put it out of the Way, likewise brought their Woomen and Chilldren off, and to a safe place then to join with the Mingoes, Shawnese and others, and go with him where He pleased to War against You. As for the English at Detroit I am pretty sure they will carry on a Campaign against You this Summer, for which they are now preparing, having at present 400 regular Troops, and expecting 300 more every Day.

I should think it a very proper thing for You to keep 2 Dellaware Men as Spies at the Mouth of Gajahage [Cuyahoga] River, who might hunt there without being discovered. I further inform You that Simon Girty with 8 Mingoes is gone to the Inhabitants, to fetch a Packet of Letters out of a hollow Tree. I understand somewhere about Fort Pitt. Allexander MacKee is newly created Indian Agent in the room of that great Hero Mr Hayes [Jehu Hay], and lives now at Detroit.

There are two of the largest Vessels from Detroit named Dunmore, and Gage cruising upon the Lake in order to discover Your coming against them.[1]

This information which I have now given You is certainly to be looked on as facts, and I assure You, should any thing of any consequence come to my knowledge hereafter, I shall (if otherwise in my Power) inform You of it.

I am Sir your most Obed^{t} humb^{e} Servt. O. L.[2]

[*Addressed:*] To Col^{o} Brodhead, Comand^{t} West^{n} Departm^{t} at Fort Pitt.

[Summary of letter of John Heckewelder, Coshocton, June 30, 1779, to Col. Daniel Brodhead. Printed in *Pa. Archives*, VII, 524–26.]

Strict injunctions to maintain secrecy. Trustworthiness of Alexander McCormick and his report of the Wyandot. Bird not without humanity. When among the Wyandot at Sandusky they tortured a prisoner. Bird interceded in vain and cursed them for cowards and rascals. Thus brought ill will of Indians upon him. Had determined if he took Fort Laurens to protect the garrison and allow them to march under arms to Detroit. Shawnee are rebuilding after destruction of Bowman's expedition. No peace to be secured unless a campaign is made before the corn is ripe.

[1] The "Dunmore" and the "Gage" were schooners built at Detroit in 1772 or 1773 and used by the British government throughout the Revolution, both to guard their communications between Niagara and Detroit and to serve as transports. The "Gage" was the flagship, commanded by Commodore Alexander Grant; her crew consisted of twenty-seven men, and she carried sixteen swivels. She was still in use as late as 1785. The "Dunmore" had a crew of nineteen, and mounted twelve guns and four swivels; she was commanded in 1777 by James Andrew, in 1779 by John Bennett. In 1784 she was employed on Lake Huron between Mackinac and Detroit.

[2] This signature is indistinct, and was intended as a disguise.

ATTEMPT TO CAPTURE GIRTY

[Summary of letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Headquarters, Pittsburgh, July 1, 1779, to Col. Stephen Bayard. Printed in *id.*, XII, 133–34.]

Supplies for garrison at new post. Ensign Morrison with a party (partly Delawares) out to get Mingo scalps. Captain Brady and John Montour have gone with a party to capture Simon Girty, who is reported to be lurking with seven Mingo Indians near Holliday's Cove. Express to Coshocton to seize Girty if he returns there. New fort is to be named for General Armstrong. Recommends strict economy of public stores.

[Summary of letter of Col. George Woods, Bedford, July 4, 1779, to Thomas Urie.[1] Printed in *id.*, VII, 534.]

Indian raids in Bedford County, which is in great confusion. Hears that John Montour has come to Fort Pitt with several Indians, and has undertaken to bring in Simon Girty. Captain Brady, who has lately recaptured two prisoners, has gone with Montour's party. Hopes they will succeed in taking Girty.

INIMICAL FEELING TOWARD FRIENDLY INDIANS

[Extract of a letter from Pres. Joseph Reed to Col. Daniel Brodhead. Printed in *ibid.*, 569–70.]

July 8, 1779

Dr Sir:

Your several Favours of the 5th [of June] 22^d^ of May & 24th June, with the Inclosures, have been duly received—And it gives us great Satisfaction to find Appearances & Prospects are so favourable; it redounds much to the Honour of your Command, & I have the Pleasure to assure you all our Advices from the back Country correspond with yours. As to Fort Laurens, it has been saved

[1] George Woods was colonel of Bedford County militia; later (1784–87) he was county lieutenant. His correspondent, Thomas Urie, appears to have been a resident of East Pennsboro Township, Cumberland County, Pa.

more by a Miracle than any thing else; and tho' it may be kept up as a stepping Stone to Detroit, I can see no other Benefits to be derived from it. Gen. Washington was apprehensive that the evacuation of it this Spring would have given great Encouragement to the Savages about Detroit, which was his Reason for holding it—not any Opinion of the intrinsick Worth of the Post.

We have, agreeable to your Desire, represented to the People of Westmoreland the Necessity of giving you all the Assistance in their Power; & as it is their Interest, we hope they will not neglect it; in the mean Time we would wish you to treat them with all possible Tenderness; when they see you laboring for their Safety & Welfare, they cannot but exert themselves to make your Command easy as far as depends upon them. I wish it were in our Power to furnish you with a few Indian Goods, but there are two very strong Reasons why we cannot supply you—The first, that they are not to be procured, & the other, that I doubt whether the People in the Back Counties would suffer them to proceed, so violent are the Prejudices against the Indians. It has been with great Difficulty that we got the Indians back that came down lately; there were several Parties made up to destroy them on their Return, which were disappointed by the Indians taking an unexpected & circuitous Route.

We have sounded Congress & the General about giving a Reward for Scalps, but there is so evident a Reluctance on the Subject, & an Apprehension that it may be improved by our Enemies to a national Reproach, that at present we cannot venture to make any authoritative Offers; but as we have great Confidence in your Judgment & Discretion, must leave it to you to act therein as they shall direct.

[Summary of letter of John Heckewelder, Coshocton, July 8, 1779, to Col. Daniel Brodhead. Printed in *ibid.*, 541–42.]

Has waited impatiently for opportunity of sending letters of last month, containing McCormick's warning. Reasons for secrecy; code of signs arranged. Reports that Simon Girty came there last Sunday with one prisoner. Big Cat's fault that he could not be taken. Girty had a packet of letters, supposedly taken from a hollow tree. Is desirous that McCormick should

read them for him.[1] Zeisberger waylaid by Girty's party, saved by accidental arrival of some Delawares.[2] No news of Wyandot. Shawnee boast they can fight better next time.

SCOUTING PARTIES

[Summary of letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Headquarters, Pittsburgh, July 9, 1779, to Col. Stephen Bayard. Printed in *id.*, XII, 134–35.]

Would be sorry to have first fort built in department named for himself; prefers it should be Fort Armstrong. Captain Harrison[3] ordered to new fort. Lieutenants Peterson and Ward[4] with small party of white men and eight or nine Delaware warriors will go to Seneca country in a few days. Delawares go with full consent of chiefs. Strictures on conduct of Pittsburgh inhabitants.

[1] The letters from "a hollow tree" were presumably those of the Loyalists in the neighborhood of Fort Pitt. As Girty could neither read nor write, he was dependent upon traders for these services. Evidently he had no suspicion that McCormick was furnishing information to the Americans.

[2] For a further account of this episode see Heckewelder, *Narrative*, 204-6; also the criticism thereof by C. W. Butterfield, *History of the Girtys* (Cincinnati, 1890), 97-104.

[3] Capt. Benjamin Harrison of the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment was the son of Lawrence, an early settler on the Youghiogheny River, west of the present Connellsville in modern Fayette County, Pa. Benjamin entered the army as captain, Dec. 16, 1776; he was in service at Fort Pitt under General Hand in the winter of 1777-78. The following summer he served in the eastern forces, and participated in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. Early in 1779 he was again ordered to Fort Pitt where he served until Feb. 12, 1781, when he retired with the rank of major. In 1782 he was colonel of Westmoreland County militia, and after the death of his brother William in Crawford's disastrous Sandusky campaign, Benjamin removed to Kentucky where he had prospected as early as 1776. Settling in Bourbon County, he was sheriff in 1786 and member of the conventions of 1787, 1788, and 1792. He represented his county in the legislature of 1793, and in 1795 was chosen a state senator. Harrison County, Ky., is named for him. Harrison embarked in Col. George Morgan's New Madrid enterprise and in later life removed to Missouri, where he settled in the Ste. Geneviève district.

[4] John Ward was commissioned ensign of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment in 1776, and first lieutenant in April, 1779. In January, 1783, he was transferred to the First Pennsylvania and served throughout the war. He was a son of Edward Ward, for whom see *Rev. Upper Ohio*, 171, note 97.

TEMPER OF WESTERN INDIANS

[Summary of anonymous letter, Philadelphia, July 10, 1779. Printed in Almon's *Remembrancer*, VIII, 344–45.]

Accounts just received from Colonel Brodhead that the western tribes have made overtures for peace. Fourteen Cherokee from Chote are at the Delaware town, and propose a visit to Fort Pitt. Captain Bird of Detroit failed to secure Indian party to attack Fort Laurens. Brady's exploit in recapturing two children taken by Munsee. American attack on Chillicothe. British building a post at Sandusky. Clark's success has changed face of affairs. "All is despondency and terror on the part of our enemies. Vigour and alacrity on our part. So that the reduction of Detroit is now talked of as a matter of certainty next campaign."

[Summary of letter of Col. William Crawford, Fort Pitt, July 12, 1779, to Gen. George Washington. Printed in C. W. Butterfield, *Washington–Crawford Letters* * * * (Cincinnati, 1877), 70–72.]

Clark's operations have changed disposition of the western Indians, who have done very little mischief since Shawneetown was burnt. Believes that with very little effort a party from there could destroy all the Shawnee towns; Kentucky people would be glad to coöperate. Brodhead has asked Crawford to accompany him on an Allegheny expedition, and the former has consented. Fort Randolph immediately after evacuation was burned by Indians.

[Council of Delawares with Col. Daniel Brodhead. 2H32–33. Letter Book.]

PITT July 12th 1779

Captn Kilbuck To Maghingwee Geeshuch

BROTHER:

We have considered what you recommend to us to consider Yesterday and now we are going to tell you what we have agreed upon, We have unanimously agreed to make a Speech at this time

Brother: you may depend what you hear from me now is the Voice of the whole of our Council

Brother: We have unanimously agreed that when any of your Young Men go to War, our Young Men shall accompany them, this is the agreement & consent of all the Chiefs of the Deleware Nation

Brothers: We shall be glad to know at what time all our friends the Delewares shall meet at Coochocking

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ALLEGHENY EXPEDITION APPROVED

[Gen. George Washington to Col. Daniel Brodhead. Washington Papers. Draft.]

HEAD QUARTERS NEW WINDSOR July 13th 1779

DEAR SIR:

Yours of the 25th of June was delivered me yesterday—I inclose you a duplicate of mine of the 23d, which gave my consent to an expedition against the Mingoes—I am glad to hear you had received a supply of provisions and only waited my concurrence to make an expedition against the Senecas—I hope by this time you are carrying it into execution.

I have more than once applied to the Board of War to supply you with some articles to reward the Indians—I shall renew my solicitations.

I approve the sentence against Straffain.[1] He appears justly, to merit the punishment. But I leave the execution or remission to your discretion. If the circumstances of the Garrison appear to require an example, let it be made. You will be pleased to determine yourself in the other cases; and for the future it will be unnecessary to send me any proceedings; but where the sentences affect the life of the prisoner or the dismission of an officer. All others you will decide upon yourself—

I am Dr Sir Your most Obed Servant

[GEORGE WASHINGTON]

P. S. It may be well for you to endeavour to open a correspondence with General Sullivan that your movements if possible may be serviceable to each other—

[1] See court-martial proceedings in Appendix, *post*, 416.

ORDERS FOR FORT LAURENS

[Summary of letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Headquarters, Pittsburgh, July 14, 1779, to Col. Richard Campbell. Printed in *Pa. Archives*, XII, 135–36.]

If flour is furnished Indians, they should return the same amount of venison. Campbell's garrison of seventy-five cannot be reënforced with large detachment—will relieve soldiers whose term is expired. Public stores not to be taken to purchase skins. Has two Munsee scalps. Peterson and Ward with eighteen whites and six Delawares have gone against the Seneca who appear to begin retaliation.

[Col. Daniel Brodhead, July 16, 1779, to Col. Richard Campbell. 1NN67.]

As General Washington has given him a little latitude, he has determined to strike a blow against the most hostile nation: Therefore F^{t} Laurens will be evacuated as soon as horses can be sent out to bring in the stores—but this must be kept a profound secret; and as y^{r} post may again be occasionally occupied, the works are not to be demolished by our troops—to get all in readiness, &c.

SUPPLIES SHOULD BE HASTENED

[Summary of letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Headquarters, Pittsburgh, July 15, 1779, to Col. Archibald Steel. Printed in *Pa. Archives*, XII, 136–37.]

Peremptory orders for more exertion in transporting flour and other stores. Pack-horse drivers between Pittsburgh and Old Town alleged to be idle. Abuse should be corrected. Swivels and cannon promised for the department.

ALLEGHENY EXPEDITION PLANNED

[Col. Daniel Brodhead to Col. David Shepherd. 1SS165. L. S.]

HEAD QUARTERS PITTSBURGH July 17th 1779

DEAR SIR:

His Excellency the Commander in Chief has at lenghth given me a little Latitude and I am determined to Strike a blow against one of the most Hostile Nations, that in all probability will effectually Secure the tranquility of these Frontiers for years to come but I have not Troops sufficient at once to carry on the Expedition and to Support the different Posts which are Necessary to be maintained. Therefore beg you will engage as many Volunteers for two or three weeks as you possibly can. They shall be well treated and if they please paid and entitled to an equal share of the plunder that may be taken, which I apprehend will be very considerable. Some of the Friendly Indians will assist us on this enterprize.

I cannot conceive that any of my Public Spirited Countrymen will hisitate a moment on this occasion nor Suffer a temporary emolument to be put in the Scale of a Universal Benefit.

As you may not be able to have a Speedy meeting with the Field Officers of your County. I must request you will make this letter Circular to them. the fifth day of Next month the Troops destined for this excursion are to rendevouz at Head Quarters. Please to encourage the bringing a Number of Private Horses, the hire or loss of which shall be paid by the Public.

I hope to have the Pleasure of your Company. I have the honor to be with perfect Regard and esteem Dear Sir Your Most Obt Servant

DANIEL BRODHEAD Colo Commandg W

COL° DAVID SHEPHERD

[Summary of a letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Headquarters, Pittsburgh, July 17, 1779, to Capt. Joseph Irwin.[1] Printed in *Pa. Archives*, XII, 138.]

By first of next month, when the harvest is secured, will make a diversion to aid General Sullivan's expedition. All Westmoreland companies ordered to headquarters on that day without fail.

[Summary of a letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Headquarters, Pittsburgh, July 19, 1779, to Ensign Coleman, commanding at Fort Crawford. Printed in *ibid.*, 138.]

Has received his letter by express, hopes Brady has intercepted Indian party Coleman's men discovered. Asks that enclosed letter be forwarded to Captain Irwin.

[Summary of a letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Headquarters, Pittsburgh, July 20, 1779, to Lieut.-Col. Stephen Bayard. Printed in *ibid.*, 139.]

Commander in chief gives leave for an excursion into Indian country. Will cover Fort Armstrong; therefore desires two officers, two sergeants, and twenty-four rank and file left at the post and the remainder to march to Fort Pitt, bringing also the garrison of Fort Crawford, except a sergeant and twelve privates. News from the East.

[1] Capt. Joseph Irwin, whose family was connected with that of Colonel Lochry, served in the Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment from 1776 to 1778. After retirement to his home in Westmoreland County, he served as an officer of militia and of ranging companies.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH CHEROKEE

[Speech of the Cherokee to Col. Daniel Brodhead. 1H105–7. Contemporary transcript.]

[July 18, 1779][1]

Listen to me, My Broth' Americans:

I Just now came from my own town to Coshocking to the Council fire of my Grand fathers the Delawares[2]—As soon as I ariv'd at My Grand fathers house at Coshocking I heard the Good Works he took me by the hand and show'd me the Way to Fort Pitt the Great Council fire where I was to see the Chiefs my Grand fathers and my Brothers the Americans.

When I came along the road that came to this place just over the River I met my Grand fathers the Delawares and my Brothers the Americans you spoke as one and put my heart at Rest, for which I am very thankful and I assure you I think as you do.

When I came over the River and came into my Brothers house and got back again then I considered within myself and still kept looking over to my brother I now whisper this into his Year, that he may know what I have said yonder I have said here,

three strings of White Wampum

Now listen to me my Brothers the Americans & my Grand fathers the Delawares And hear what I am going to say to my Brothers the Americans.

Listen to me, *my Brothers the Americans:* Where I live with my Brothers the Americans they always spoke good to me, now I am going to relate what they said to me,

Listen to me *Brothers:* that we have fix'd our friendship in our Country with the Americans as you are all of one color we conceive y^{t} when we spoke to one the whole nation hear'd it.

Listen to me *Brothers:* Now I point to our Great maker as you do when you declare yourselves in a solemn Manner, you have told me that you have made a Road thro' Virginia to our Country

[1] This date is approximate only, being supplied from internal evidence of this and succeeding documents.

[2] See the account of the visit of the Cherokee chiefs to the Delaware towns in Heckewelder, *Narrative*, 198-203. The chief whom he calls "Crow" is The Raven. Heckewelder also mentions this visit of the Cherokee in his "Indian Nations," in Pennsylvania Historical Society, *Memoirs*, XII, 327, wherein he says that fourteen Cherokee came to offer condolence to their "grandfathers the Delawares" on the occasion of the death of their great chief, White Eyes.

to a place call'd the Big Island, where I have kindled a great Council fire,[1] the road you have made is clear for Our posterity to travel without Stumbling.

Now I have told you what I had to say, when the Americans that live with us speak of our friendship they always point to the thirteen united states and what they told me I now tell you,

Listen to me *Brothers:* You now see me speak from my own mouth, and now you will all know I have taken hold of the Chain of friendship

I now Give you this as a Testimony of my friendship

four Strings White Wampum

This Small String of Wampum was Given to me by the Man that Wrote my Recommendation on this piece of paper Certifying the Amity subsisting between the Cherokee Nation and the Americans.

[Speech of the Cherokee chief to Col. Daniel Brodhead. 2H33–35. Contemporary transcript.][2]

[July 19, 1779]

[Speech of the Raven Head Warrior of the Cherokees and their Chiefs to Maghingwekeeshuch.]

Listen to me *Brothers* and my Grand fathers the Delawares will also hear me: [Yesterday I spoke you to you what] I had to say and you said you did not understand me I now clear your Eyes that you may see clearly that your Brother is speaking to you.

Listen to me *Brother:* I also clear your Ears that my words may enter therein rightly.

Listen to me *Brother:* I now also clear your Throat that my words may enter your heart that it is your Brother speaking to you.

Three Strings of White Wampum.

Listen to me *Brother:* Now I am a going to speak to you and my Grandfathers the Delawares will hear.

Listen to me *Brother:* Now we are speaking here as three Men. Great while ago I had a Brother over the great water but have now disowned him, I have now thrown away all the letters I received from him, and thank God now that I have freedom of Speech with

[1] Long Island on the Holston River where the treaty of 1777 was signed.

[2] A duplicate of this document is found in Brodhead's Letter Book. Draper Mss., 2H33-35.

my American Brethern and my Grandfathers the Delawares Now I add my speech to yours.

Listen to me *Brother:* Now I declare in the presence of our Great Maker that I have added myself with my Grandfathers the Delawares to you, and now I have made this declaration all the bad people shall not be able to seperate us and when I am about good Works whatever I say may be rilyed on and I will not deviate from it.

I do not Now speak behind your backs but in your presence and when you hear me Speak you will know it is your Brothers the Cherokees.

Now I see both your Hearts and am convinced they are good as your Hearts are so are mine and altho I am small What I say is true—

Five Strings of White Wampum

I tell you now Brothers that I speak but few words Brothers but what I have told I have spoke out of my own mouth and you may depend on the truth of it.

I now tell you that it is my desire that you may commend to me in Writing what I have said that it may be kept on Record for posterity and yours

---

[Col. Daniel Brodhead to the Raven. 2H35–37. Contemporary transcript.]

Maghingwekeeshuch to the head Warrier (the Raven) of the Cherokees:

I am glad to see men of such good hearts among the Cherokees and always know that Sincerity is only to be found in few Words. I think it very proper to have the Transactions betwen you and your Brothers the Americans committed to paper Your wise Grand Fathers the Delawares have enterd in a written Treaty specyfing the contracts of each party. All Nations must shortly acknowledge the wisdom of your Grandfathers the Delawares I will do as you have requested and immediately make out your speeches in Writing and transmit them to Congress as Testimony of your Friendship

And as we live on one Island it is necessary that every thing betwen us should be properly understood that their may be no difference with our posterity

The Americans never mean to disturb their tranquility if they are disturbed it will be by People from afar

I have said but little to Day in comparison of what I shall say tomorrow

To morrow I intend to point out to you who are the good people and who are the bad. I shall perhaps put you in mind of some people whe us'd to carry the Tomhawk into your Country lead your Women & Children Captives and at other times to engage you to enter into Quarrels of their own I have always my Eyes on these People and have known them to be evil dispos'd since I was a boy

They are the bad Children of a bad father and their Evil deeds are only to be stop'd by cuting them off

I intend to go shortly to pay them a visit and if God Almighty has not already cut them off the face of the earth for their wickedness I will

This is all

[Col. Daniel Brodhead to the Cherokee. 2H38–42. Letter Book.]

HEAD QUARTERS PITTSBURGH July 20th 1779

Maghingwe Keeshuch to the Raven and Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation.

Brothers Listen to me:

I have said that I had great Pleasure in seeing the wise and great Men of the Cherokee Nation at this great Council Fire and now I rejoice to find they have taken hold of the great chain of Friendship subsisting betwen their Grandfathers the Delawares their Brothers the Americans the King of France and many other great Nations who love us and are determined to support us against the Wicked English and their bad Allies.

Brothers: I am exceeding glad that you are unlike the Foolish Nations who join the people of a far Country to murder their Friends and who would sell the Freedom God hath given them for a little Rum or a Blanket

Brothers: Your Posterity would have been miserable indeed had not your Brothers the Americans bravely fought (often almost Naked) to defend the common right and Liberties of all the people of this Island.

Brothers: Your Friends the Americans & your Grand Fathers the Delawares were unwilling to strike the people of this Island who had joind their Enemies over the great Waters—They there-

fore sent a great many good Talks to them to stop them from hurting their Brethren but they were deaf to all their intreaties and have continued to Murder our Women and Children ever since.

Brothers now Listen to me: I am weary of sending good Talks to them Nations and I will forbear no longer with them These Strings confirm my Words.

Brothers: Yesterday I told you I would point out to you the bad Nations but as your Grandfathers & I have sent our last speeches to some of them I cannot name them untill the Runners Return.

Brothers: Your Grand Fathers the Delawares have wisely joined us against the Bad Nations and because they would not Listen to our good talks we have made some of them feel our Blows—And we will continue to knock them on the Head untill they become sober and see they have done that which is bad and then perhaps we may Pity their Women & Children

This Belt confirms my Words

As you have taken hold of our hands in the good Works and appealed to God for the rectitude of your intentions I invite you to join your Grand Fathers & your Brethren against those Nations that you know have often disturbed your repose and carried the Tomhawk into your Country to Gratify their Pride and love of Plunder.

Brothers: I told you your Grand Fathers had enterd into a solemn Treaty with your Brothers the Americans I will make you acquainted with what they have done And recommend to you to enter into a similar Contract with your Brothers the Americans. And in testimony of my determination to support the Contract inviolable on my part I give you this Belt—

A large Belt of Nine Rows white & chain & 2 persons black.

[The Cherokee's speech to Col. Daniel Brodhead. 2H43–44. Letter Book.]

July 22^{d} 1779

Speech of the Raven head Warrier of the Cherokees and their Chiefs to Magingwe Keeshuch.

BROTHER:

It is well known by my Grand Fathers that what I speak is good—Brother what ever my Grand Father says I say the same

we speak with one voice—Brother it is a great while since my Grand Fathers made our Chain of Friendship we are here together now you see us at this great Council Fire as one Man I have taken hold of the same Chain of Friendship which binds our Brothers the Americans and them together, and what they have undertaken I agree to.

Brother: that is my reason traveling so far to seek for that Friendship which is subsisting betwen our Grand Fathers and our Brothers the Americans what I say is with great sincerity and I can therefore lay hold of the Chain of Friendship with both my hands.

Brother: Listen to me you need not think that I look to our Maker for nothing but I am sincere when I do so—Brother Listen to me you promised to protect such as lay hold of the Chain of Friendship and we do the same on our parts—Brother if any other Nation strike us we all shall feel that Blow and all my young Men present will think of resenting it—Brother Listen to me you may see me speak you see whether my Countenance alters and whe[t]her I am sincere and you can also judge from the Countenance of other Nations that reside with the English whether they are sincere or not.

Brother: you have heard what I had to say when those papers are ready that I am to take along with me we will sign them and then I will think of my Chiefs that sent me and lay it before them and show them that we have taken hold of the great Chain of Friendship with the United States of America and our Father the King of France.

[Treaty with the Cherokee. 1H111–14. D. S.]

Articles of Agreement and Confederation made and entered into by Daniel Brodhead Esqr Colonel Commanding the Western Department, for and in behalf of the United States of North America of the one part and the Raven chief Warrior and Shaweeskaw or Peeweet Bird, Ochwalatock or Red Parrot Oolsconnegh, or you Say for nothing, Tockquasheek or Tarpine and Shawtittee Chiefs and Warriors of the Chirokee Nation

Article 1st That all Offences or acts of hostilities by one or either of the Contracting parties against the other be mutually

forgiven and buried in the depths of Oblivion never more to be had in remembrance.

Article 2[d] That a perpetual Peace and Friendship Shall from henceforth take place and Subsist between the Contracting parties aforesaid through all Succeeding Generations and if either of the Parties are engaged in a Just and necessary War with any other Nation or Nations, that then each shall assist the other in due proportion to their abilities till their Enemies are brought to reasonable terms of Accommodation, and that if either of them shall discover any Hostile designs forming against the Other they shall give the earliest notice thereof that timeous notice may be taken to prevent their Ill effects.

Article 3[d] And whereas the United States are engaged in a Just and necessary War in defence and support of life liberty and Independance against the King of England and his adherents and as said King is yet possessed of several Posts and Forts on the Lakes and other places, the reduction of which is of great importance to the peace and security of the Contracting parties, and as the most practicable [route] for the Troops of the United States to some of the Posts and Forts is by passing through the Country of the Chirokee Nation the aforesaid Deputies on behalf of themselves and their Nation do hereby Stipulate and agree to give a free passage through the Country to the Troops aforesaid and the same to Conduct by the nearest and best way to the Posts, Forts or Towns of the Enemies of the United States, affording to said Troops such supplies of Corn, Wheat, Horses or what ever may be in their power for the accommodation of such Troops on the Commanding Officers paying or engaging to pay the full value of whatever they can supply them with, and the said Deputies on the behalf of their Nation engaged to Join the Troops of the United States aforesaid with such a number of their best and most expert Warriors as they can spare Consistant with their own safety and act in Concert with them

Article 4th For the better security of the Peace and Friendship now entered into by the Contracting parties against all infractions of the same by the Citizens of either party to the prejudice of the other neither party shall proceed to the Infliction of Punishment on the Citizens of the other otherwise than by securing the offender or offenders by Imprisonment or any other Competent means till a fair and impartial Tryal can be had by Judges or Juries of both parties as Can be to the Laws Customs and Usages

of the Contracting parties and natural Justice, the mode of such Tryal to be hereafter fixed by such men of the United States in Congress assembled with the assistance of such deputies of the Chirokee Nation as may be appointed to act in Concert with them in adjusting this matter to their Mutual likeings and it is further agreed between the Parties aforesaid that neither shall entertain or give Countenance to the Enemies of the other or protect in their Respective States Criminals Fugitives, Servants or Slaves, but the same to apprehend and secure & Deliver to the state or states to which such Enemies, Criminals Servants or Slaves Respectfully belong.

Article 5th Whereas the Confederation entered into by the Chirokee Nation and the United States renders the first dependant on the latter for all the Articles of Cloathing, Utencils, and Impliments of War and it is Judged not only reasonable but indispensibly necessary that the aforesaid nation be supplied with such articles from time to time as far as the United States may have it in their Power by a well regulated Trade under the Conduct of an indulgent Candid Agent, with an adequate Salary, one more influenced by the love of his Country, and a Constant Attention to the duties of his Department by promoting the Common Interest, than on the sinister purposes of Converting to and binding all the duties of his Office to his private Emolument. Convinced of the necessitie of such Measures the Commanding Officer of the Western Department in behalf of the United States at the earnest solicitation of the Deputies aforesaid have engaged that such a Trade shall be afforded said nation, Conducted on such a principle of mutual Interest as the Wisdom of the United States in Congress assembled shall think most conducive to adopt for their mutual Conveniency.

Article 6th Whereas the Enemies of the United States have endeavoured by every artifice in their power to possess the Indians in General with an Opinion that it is the design of the States aforesaid to exterpate the Indians and take possession of their Country To obviate such false Surgestions. The United States do engage to Guarantee to the aforesaid nation of Chirokees and their Heirs all their Teritorial Rights in the fullest and most ample manner as it hath been Bounded by former Treaties, as long as the said Cherokee Nation shall abide by and hold fast the Chain of Friendship now entered into. and it is further agreed on between the Contracting parties that should it for the future

be found Conducive for the Mutual Interest of both parties to invite any other Tribes who have been friends to the Interest of the United States to Join the Present Confederation and to form a state whereof the Delaware Nation shall be the Head and have a Representation in Congress provided nothing Contained in this Article to be Considered as Conclusive untill it meets with the approbation of Congress, and it is also the intent and meaning of this article that No protection or Countenance shall be afforded to any who are at present our Enemies by which they might escape the Punishment they deserve.

In Witness, whereof the Parties have hereunto Interchangeably set their hands and seals at Fort Pitt this twenty second July, Anno: Domini, 1779

Sealed & delivered In the presence of us

DANIEL BRODHEAD Col° commandg Westn Departmt
RAVEN Chief his mark[1]
FREDk VERNON Major 8th P: Regt,
JOHN KILLBUCK his Mark
HINGWEPOOSHEE his Mark
Wm AMBERSON D. M. M. G. W D
THOs M°INTYRE[2] Capt
JOHN MONTOUR
SHAWEESKOGH or PEEWEET BIRD his Mark
OOLSCONNEGH or YOU SAY FOR NOTHING his Mark
OCHWALATOCH or THE RED PARROT his Mark
TOCKQUESHECH or TARPINE his Mark
SHAW TITTEE his Mark
CALEB CALVIN[3]

VIRGINIA AND FRONTIER FORCES

[Summary of letter of Col. Daniel Brodhead, Headquarters, Pittsburgh, July 22, 1779, to Gov. Thomas Jefferson. Printed in *Pa. Archives*, XII, 140.]

News of designs of the enemy in and about Detroit. Many men must soon be discharged; asks authority to call out the Virginia

[1] The marks which in the manuscript accompany the signatures have been omitted from the printed document because they lack special significance and are difficult to reproduce.

[2] Thomas McIntyre was commissioned ensign of the Third Pennsylvania Regiment, Jan. 8, 1776; he became a lieutenant the succeeding March. He was wounded and captured at Fort Washington in November, 1776. After nine months' imprisonment he was exchanged and proceeded to western Pennsylvania, where he became first lieutenant, and later captain of an independent company, serving until May, 1782.

[3] Caleb Calvin was an interpreter.

militia. About fifth of next month plans to make an excursion against some Seneca settlements, they being the most warlike and hostile of the tribes.

[Resolution of Council of Virginia. 2U63. D. S.]

IN COUNCIL July 23d 1779

The Act of General Assembly intituled an act for raising a Body of Troops for the defence of the Commonwealth, having directed that two battalions shall be raised for the Western and two for the Eastern Service, the Board advise the Governor to Order that the men to be raised according to the said act in the Counties of Yohogania, Monongalia, Ohio, Kentucky, Hampshire, Berkley, Frederick, Shenandoah, Rockingham, Rockbridge, Botetourt, Loudoun, Fauquier, Culpeper and Orange, be formed into one Battalion for the Western Service, The men to be raised under the same act in the Counties of Washington, Montgomery, Green Brier, Augusta, Henry, Bedford, Amherst, Albemarle, Fairfax, Prince William, Louisa, Fluvanna, Goochland, Cumberland, Buckingham and Pittsylvania be formed into one other Battalion for the Western Service. And the men to be raised in the Counties to the Eastward of those before named to be formed into two other Battalions for the Eastern Service. That the Western battalion secondly above named be divided and stationed the one half at such posts and in such numbers as shall be proper for the defence of the Southwestern frontier, and the other half at Fort Randolph and such other posts and in such numbers as shall be proper for the defence of the North Western Frontier.

And in order that proper information may be obtained as to the posts and Garrisons proper to be established, Gen[l] Lewis, W[m] Fleming and W[m] Christian Esq[r] are appointed to meet on the last day of August in the present Year at Botetour Court House to concert together what posts shall be taken on the S° Western frontier, and what number of Men stationed at each of the said posts not exceeding 250 in the whole and report the same to this Board for approbation. and for the same purpose, Sampson Matthews, Abraham Hite,[1] and John Pierce Duvall Esq[re][2] are

[1] For Abraham Hite see *Dunmore's War*, 31, note 53.

[2] John Pierce Duvall was of Huguenot ancestry and had been a member of the Virginia assembly. About the year 1779 he removed to the West, somewhere in

appointed to meet on the same day at Shenandoah Court House to concert together what posts shall be taken on the Northwestern Frontier. (Fort Randolph to be one) & what number of men stationed at each not exceeding 250 in the whole and report the same to this Board for approbation. Joseph Crockett[1] and James Knox[2] are appointed Lieut[s] Colo[s] Commandants, Geo[e] Walls[3] and Rob[t] Powell[4] Majors, of the two Western Battalions, W[m] Cherry[5]

the Monongahela region. He was a member of the state senate for Monongalia County, and later for Harrison County, from 1780-92. Upon the formation of the latter county in 1784, he was chosen county lieutenant and was prominent during the Indian wars. He was an incorporator of Randolph Academy, the chief magistrate for Harrison County, and held many positions of trust in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The time of his death is unknown.

[1] Joseph Crockett was a native of Augusta County, whose father, Joseph, emigrated from Ireland and settled on the south branch of the Roanoke. At his death in 1767 the elder Crockett left to his sons, Joseph and Walter, a large tract of land on the upper waters of the Holston, whither they early removed. Joseph was in Dunmore's War, a member of the Committee of Safety for Fincastle County, and in 1776 raised a company of riflemen and joined Daniel Morgan's regiment. He served as captain in the Seventh and Fifth Virginia Infantry, and became major of the Eleventh, May 20, 1779. Having raised the western battalion, authorized by the act here cited, he was in 1781 ordered to join Gen. George Rogers Clark on a western expedition and accompanied his forces to Louisville. Colonel Crockett's regiment was discharged at the Falls of the Ohio, in December, 1781, the officers remaining in service as supernumeraries. Colonel Crockett returned to Virginia, and soon after there married the Widow Woodson. Not long thereafter he returned and settled in Fayette County, Ky., in that part later included in Jessamine County. He represented the former county in the state assembly, 1792-95; the latter in the senate, 1800-1804. President Jefferson appointed Colonel Crockett United States marshal for Kentucky. He died Nov. 7, 1829, in Scott County, at the age of ninety.

[2] James Knox had been captain of the Eighth Virginia Regiment, and major of the Ninth; he was retired Sept. 30, 1778.

[3] In 1776 George Walls was a lieutenant, later a captain, in the Fourth Virginia Infantry. In the spring of 1778 he raised a company in Shenandoah County and went to the southern army in Col. Richard Parker's regiment. After joining Crockett's western battalion he went down the Ohio with Clark in 1781 and the next year took part in Clark's campaign. In 1782 he was made commandant of Fort Nelson at Louisville, where he remained until 1784 or later. He died in Kentucky before 1799, leaving a son Jacob.

[4] Robert Powell was a first lieutenant in the Third Virginia Regiment in 1776 and later in the same year was promoted to a captaincy. He resigned from the regular service, July 2, 1779. His death occurred in 1829.

[5] Capt. William Cherry was from Jefferson County, W. Va., where he kept a tavern on the site of the present Charlestown. In 1776 he was commissioned lieutenant in the Fourth Virginia Regiment, becoming a captain in 1777. He was put upon the supernumerary roll in 1778, and after being commissioned for Crockett's battalion opened a recruiting office in the vicinity of his tavern.

and Samuel Gill[1] Cap[n] Tho Walls[2] and Peter Moor[3] Ensigns in the same Battalions. * * *

The Governor Orders, as he is before advis'd by the Hon[ble] the Council, and further he desires that the Field Officers of the Counties herein after mentioned, will be pleased to assemble on the summons of their County Lieut[t] or other Commanding Officer & recommend to the Executive persons proper for the Commands expressed against the name of their County respectively to wit,

Monongalia	a Capt.	a Lieu[t]	.....
Ohio	.....	.....	an Ensign
Kentucky	.....	a Lieut.	.....
Hampshire	a Capt.	a Lieut.	.....
Berkley	a Capt.	a Lieut.	.....
Frederick	a Capt.	a Lieut.	.....
Shenandoah	a Capt.	.....	an Ensign
Rockingham	.....	a Lieut.	an Ensign
Rockbridge	a Capt.	.....	.....
Botetourt	a Capt.	.....	an Ensign
Loudoun	a Capt.	a Lieut.	two Ens[ns]
Fauquier	a Capt.	a Lieut.	an Ensign
Culpeper	a Capt.	a Lieut.	two Ens[ns]
Orange	.....	a Lieut.	an Ensign
Fairfax	a Capt.	.....	.....
Prince W[m]	a Capt.	.....	.....
Louisa	.....	a Lieut.	an Ensign

He went to Louisville with Clark in 1781, and returned to his home the latter part of that year or the first of the following year.

[1] Samuel Gill served successively as ensign, lieutenant, and captain of the Fourth Virginia Regiment, being retired with the latter rank, Sept. 14, 1778.

[2] Thomas Walls had been ensign of a Virginia regiment. He was promoted to a captaincy, Oct. 13, 1780. On Dec. 22, 1781, he was placed on the supernumerary list.

[3] Peter Moore was born in Westmoreland County, Va., in 1755; he enlisted as a private soldier in 1776 in the Third Virginia Regiment under Col. Thomas Marshall. He was promoted to the office of sergeant of artillery in 1778, and, having been wounded at Brandywine, was honorably discharged. Appointed ensign in Crockett's battalion, he rose to a lieutenancy, July 1, and became captain, Sept. 2, 1781. He served in Clark's campaign of 1782, and also in that of 1786. Having returned to Virginia in 1783, he soon decided to remove to Kentucky, where in 1784 he settled in Fayette County. He served as sheriff of his county and brigade inspector for militia, and died in July, 1818. See interview with his son in Draper Mss., 18S103-6.

Goochland	.....	a Lieut.	.....
Fluvanna	.....	a Lieut.	.....
Albemarle	a Capt.	.....	an Ensign
Augusta	a Capt.	a Lieut.	an Ensign
Green Brier	.....	a Lieut.	.....
Washington	a Capt.	.....	an Ensign
Montgomery	.....	a Lieut.	an Ensign
Henry	a Capt.	.....	an Ensign
Pittsylvania	a Capt.	.....	an Ensign
Bedford	a Capt.	a Lieut.	an Ensign
Amherst	.....	a Lieut.	.....
Buckingham	.....	a Lieut.	.....
Cumberland	.....	a Lieut.	.....

He moreover directs that the men to be raised in the Counties of Fairfax, Prince William, Louisa, Goochland, Fluvanna, Albemarle, Augusta and Green Brier and the Officers which shall be appointed on recommendation from the field Officers of those Counties as also one of the Capt[s] and both the ensigns appointed by the Council as before mentioned shall be allotted for defence of the posts which shall be established on the north Western Frontier and that the men to be raised in the Counties of Washington, Montgomery, Henry, Pittsylvania, Bedford, Amherst, Buckingham and Cumberland and the Officers which shall be appointed on recommendation from the field Officers of those Counties as also one of the Cap[ts] before appointed by the Council shall be allotted for the defence of the posts which shall be established on the S° Western Frontier.

TH: JEFFERSON

[Col. William Christian to Col. William Fleming. 2ZZ81. A. L. S.]

MAHANAIM July 23[d] 1779.

DEAR SIR:

Stephen is to send Davey, down to your House Tomorrow, by whom I Purpose to send this. James and Phebe say they are well, except being greatly troubled with Pains. James has at Times nearly lost the Use of his Arms. I bled him a few Days ago, and the Blood was so thick, that it was immediately in a Cake. I have never yet gave them the mercurial Solution but I have it

yet. I have desired James to begin again and drink Burdock Water. If you could send me some Thing by Davey that would be of service I would be glad.

We have news here that Col Wm Campbell with a Body of Washington Militia, hearing that a Number of Tories up this River about the Carolina Line had embodied in order to take the Mines Marched into this County & was Joined by Major W. Crocket with a Body from this County, in the whole about 130 Men they Marched from the Mines up the River & found that the greater Part had scattered, but some still kept together. Our People shot one, Hanged one, and whipt several, and next Monday are to have a Sale of the Tories Estates. The one who was Hanged has twice Deserted & is also a noted Thief. I expect this Affair will settle the Tories for a While.[1] I expect Col. Campbell will return Home next Week, after this Service is Done. Let us know when when you will be along.

Yours ever
Wm CHRISTIAN

[*Addressed*:] To Col William Fleming Botetourt

[1] For further information about the Loyalist Conspiracy of 1779 see *John P. Branch Historical Papers of Randolph-Macon College*, IV, 302–10.

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Appendix

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APPENDIX

[David Shepherd's certificate to Conrad Strong. 4NN71. A. L. S.]

OHIO COUNTY

This is to Certify That Conrad Strong is appointed a Captain in the new Regiment to be Raised for the protection and operation on the Western frontiers and Entitled to a Commission and the pay of a Cap^{tn} in the Service of the United States from this Date provided he Recruits and produces 30 men which will be approved of at fort pitt Before the 25th Day of aug^{t} next Given under my hand July the 6th 1778 By order of Brigadeer General McIntosh

DAVID SHEPHERD
for W. Crawford Col^{o}

	Men
a Capt	30
1 Lieut	25
1 Lieut	20
Ensign	11

[Col. John Gibson's return of troops. 1E49–51. A. D. S.]

FORT LAWRANCE Decr 21st 1778

A General Return of the 13th Virg^{a} Reig^{t} & Part of the 8th Pennsy^{a} Under the Command of Col^{o} John Gibson Stationed There.

The 13th Virg^{a} Rieg^{t}.

1	Colonol	82	R & File fit for Duty
0	Lieut. Colonol	14	Sick Presont
1	Major	3	Artificers
3	Captains	2	Waggoners
2	Lieutenants	1	Butchers
4	Ensines	14	Unfit for Duty for Want Clothing
1	Surgeon		
1	Surgeons Mate	x	The 8th Penny^{a} Reig^{t}
1	Q Master Serjant	1	Serjant
1	Serjant Major	17	R & File
17	Serjants	2	Volunteers
4	Drums & Fifes		
		172	Total

1 ass^{t} Quarter Mas^{tr} Genl
3 guides
5 Women

9 Total not included in the Return

Jno. Gibson Co^{l} Command^{t}

[*Endorsed:*] A General Return of the Garrison of Fort Laurens.

[Extract from *Virginia Gazette*, April 24, 1779. 18J78. Transcript.]

Greenbriar County, February 18, 1779.

The following persons are all those who were present, immediately under the command of Col. Andrew Donnelly, when the Indians attacked his house and fort on the 29th of May last, do, in justice to that gentleman's character (basely aspersed by the malicious reports of those who, from their not being present, could not, and from their want of candor, would not be faithful reporters of the truth) solemnly declare, that on that trying occasion he behaved himself with proper resolution and firmness, nor gave the least occasion for being suspected of pusillanimity or want of courage. Your inserting this in your Gazette may obviate the design of those who have raised so malicious a report, and oblige the friends of truth and justice, as well as your humble servants,

John Williams, Lieut.,
R. Williams, Ensign,
William Cutlar,
James Miller,
James Sconce,
William Blake,
John McFerran,
John Lockridge,
James Hugart,
James Donnelly,
John Flinn,
D. Williams,
William Hugart,
Thomas Cooper,
N. H. Cavendish,
James Jordan,
Thomas Ellis,
John Fenton,
J. Hugart,
W. Jamaison,
S. Greer,
W. Gray,
Philip Haman,
T. Hugart.

[Return of troops. 15S168,77. Transcript.][1]

A Return of troops in West Dept[t] under comm[d] of Col. D[l] Brodhead, Pittsburg Ap[l] 17, 1779.

8th P[a] Reg[t] present fit for duty 20. sick present 1. sick absent 6. on furlough 14. on com[d] 351. total rank & file 392.

13th V[a] Reg[t] Present fit for duty 112. sick present 18. sick absent 7. on furlough 5. on command 105. artificers 7. total rank and file 258.

Capt. Heth's comp[y] present fit for duty 31. sick present 3. sick absent 1. on furlough 5. on comm[d] 10. artificers 5. total rank and file 55.

Capt. Moorhead's company. on comm[d] 17. total 17. total 722.

Rank and file at Fort Laurens on Tuscarawas 106, including three musicians with Maj. Fred[k] Vernon, in command, with Capt. John Finley's and Capt. Lieut. Sam[l] Brady's company's; ensigns Thos. Wyatt, John Guthrie, and James Morrison; and ensign John Clark, "killed."

Capt. John Clark on command at Fort M[c]Intosh, with 123 men, rank and file.

Lieut. John Hardin on command at Holliday's Cove, with 28 rank and file.

Lieut. Gab[l] Peterson on command at Wheeling, with 28 rank and file.

LIEUT. JOHN CRAWFORD, Adjutant.

Lt. Col. Sam[l] Bayard absent on leave to Philad[a]
Maj. Vernon, on command, Tuscarawas.
Capt. John Finley " "
Sam[l] Brady, Capt. Lieut. "
Ensign Tho[s] Wyatt "
" John Guthrie "
" James Morrison "
" John Clark. killed
Capt. John Clark on command. Fort M[c]Intosh
Ensign John Ward " "
Alex[r] Sable, Surgeons mate "
Lt. John Harden on command Holliday's Cove
Lt. Gabriel Peterson " Wheeling Creek
Capt. Sam[l] Dawson " Kenhawa
Capt. Jas. F. Moore absent on leave

[1] This document is a combination of two transcripts.

Total	of	8th	Regt	at Tuscarawas rank and file	106
"	"	"	"	" Wheeling	28
"	"	"	"	" Holliday's Cove	28
"	"	"	"	" Fort McIntosh	123

Col. Gibson's regt. scattered, except those at Ft Pitt.

PRISONERS PAROLED

[Summary of return of American prisoners of war, released on parole in 1778 15S17–19.]

Charles Campbell, age 27, taken in Westmoreland County, Pa., Sept. 25, 1777, near Fort Pitt.

George Campbell, age 23, taken in Westmoreland County, Pa., Sept. 25, 1777, near Fort Pitt.

Randal Lauchlin, age 30, taken in Westmoreland County, Pa., Sept. 25, 1777, near Fort Pitt.

John Gibson, age 26, taken in Westmoreland County, Pa., Sept. 25, 1777, near Fort Pitt.

David Dixon, age 25, taken in Westmoreland County, Pa., Sept. 25, 1777, near Fort Pitt.

Jacob Pugh, age 20, from Winchester, Va., taken 20th Sept. 1777, 120 miles below Ft Pitt

Saml Craig, age 50, from Derry, Penn., taken 5th Nov. 1777, near the Ohio.

Thomas Shoars, age 27, from Baltimore, Md, taken 7th Mar. [1778] 700ms below Ft Pitt.

Gashum Hicks, age 43, from Bedford, Pa taken 7th Apl [1778] near Alleghany Mtns.

Moses Hicks, age 25, from Bedford, Pa taken 7th Apl [1778] near Alleghany Mtns.

GOODS FOR THE DELAWARES

[List of articles sent to Delaware Indians. 1H68–71. Contemporary document.]

[May 10, 1779]

Estimate of Goods to be sent for the Delawares.

400 Match Coats. large & small.

24 Pieces Strouds, blue

1000 Shirts assorted, white ruffled, Callico ruffled, plain white & Checkd
2 Pieces scarlet Stroud
1250 Yds. Leging Stuff. Molton or half thicks or Stroud
20 Rifles
8 C^{lb} w^{t} Powder
1600^{lb} Lead
40 Saddles.
100 Bridles
50 brass Kettles
60 Tin Kettles or rolld Iron
100 Falling axes large & small
60 Hoes assorted
10 M White Wampum
40 M black d°
An Assortment of Silver Ware as much of every sort as can be spared
50^{lb} Vermillion
40 doz Cutteaus
50 Gro: Gartering & Bed Lace assorted
4 doz black silk Handkerchiefs
3 doz black silk Cravats
80 Pieces of Taffata Ribbons, yellow, blue, green, red & purple
30 Regimental Coats. good
30 d° Hats. half Silver laced good
1000^{lb} Shingle Nails lath Hammers Handsaws
6 doz Gimblets
7 cut Saws
1 doz Augurs
30 good looking Glasses An assortment Gouges & Chissels
4 doz Pewter Basons
4 doz Pewter Plates
1 doz Tea Kettles
60 Tin Pints
1 Gro. Pewter spoons
2000 Flints
40 strong Beaver Traps.
100^{lb} Shot B & G
12^{lb} Thread all Colours.
4 M Needles
100 dandriff Combs

100 coarse Combs
100 Pr Scissars large & small
4 doz Razors
200^{lb} Coffee
6 Bushels Salt.
30^{lb} Bohea Tea
50 pair Yarn Mittens
50 worsted Caps
— Stretching Needles
3 Gro: Awls Blades
40^{lb} smallest white Beads
12^{lb} Cruels or other Worsteds
12^{lb} Cotton Candle wick
12 brass Candlesticks
3 doz Stock Locks & Staples
Door Hooks & Hinges
Closet Hinges
Closet Locks
Chest Locks & Hinges
Scyths
Sickles
6 doz. Knives & Forks
Maul Rings
60 Pr Shoes & Buckles 10 p^{rs} of them Silver
60 Pr Stockings
40 Pr Spurs.
20 Pr White Linnen Breeches
10 Pr Boots. large
12 Rasps
3 doz Files assorted
a compleat Set of Blacksmiths Tools Masons Trowel, Hammer &c
12 frying Pans
12 Pr Saddle Bags. black & red.
10 small Tents
1 Bolt strong Ozenbrigs for Bags
40 Horse or Cow Bells
3 Gro. Morris Bells
1 Box Window Glass
a compleat Set of Carpenters Tools
a Set Coopers Tools

1000 Fish Hooks large & small
Door Latches
Bolts
red Leather Trunks

GENERAL COURT-MARTIAL

[General court-martial, Col. Stephen Bayard, president. Washington Papers. A. D. S.]

Proceedings of a General Court Martial of the Line held at Pittsburgh the 6th day of June 1779 by order of Daniel Brodhead Esqr Col[l] Commanding the Western Department

Lieut. Col[l] Steph[n] Bayard President

Members

Capt[n] Sam[l] Dawson	Capt[n] John Finley
Capt[n] Adamson Tanihill	Capt[n] Tho[s] Moore
Capt[n] John M[c]intire	Lieut[t] Gab[l] Peterson
Lieut[t] Lewis Thomas	Lieut[t] John Harrison
Lieut[t] Eph[m] Ralph	Ens[n] John Ward
Ens[n] [blank in Ms.] Beck	Ens[n] James Morrison
Ens[n] Tho[s] Wiatt	

Jn[o] Holloway Judge Advocate

The Members being met and duly sworn, the Judge Advocate also sworn, and prosecuting in the Name of the United States James Beham a soldier in the 13 Virginia Regiment who was brought before the Court, on suspicion of Killing a Friendly Indian denied the charge exhibited against him. The Evidences not appearing the Court remand him back in Confinement for the present.

Robert Kennedy a soldier in the 8th Penn[a] Reg[t] was brought before the Court, Charg'd with Desertion & Theft, acknowledgeth the charge of Desertion, but denies that of Theft. from the Witness of Robert Hunter, & partly his own Confession it appears to the Court that he is also Guilty of Theft. The Court considering him to be an old offender, do sentence him to receive Three hundred Lashes, for Deserting & one Hundred for Theft well laid on his bare back.

The Court Adjourns 'till Tomorrow 9 O'Clock

June 7th The Court having met agreeable to Adjournment Captn Bready in room of Captn Finley & Ensn Ward for Lieut. Peterson as Members.

William Straffain a soldier in the 8th Pennsa Regiment was brought before the Court on suspicion of Deserting to the Enemy. Michael Shaw a soldier in the 8th Penna Regt appeard before the Court on Oath. Says that the said Straffain agreed with an Indian to furnish him with sundry Articles to take to Detroit & that the said Straffain persuaded him to Desert with him at the same time as he intended to go off that Night or the Night following. Captn Finley of the 8th Penna Regt appear'd before the Court on on Oath & Declared that in consequence of an Note Received by Major Vernon, informing him of the intended Desertion, The said Straffain and others were immediately Confin'd, the Night following Major Vernon sent for the said Straffain and upon Strict examination he confess'd the above Captn Finley also declares that a certain Indian gave information to Major Vernon, some Weeks before he receiv'd the Note that the said Straffain intended to Desert to the Enemy, and that he was the leader of the party that he attempted to persuade to go with him Daniel Matthews a soldier in the 8th Penna Regiment appeared before the Court on Oath, & says that the said Straffain had agreed with a certain Indian to pilot him to Detroit for which he was to give the Indian two Guineas & a rifle Gun & that he had attempted to persuade Mc Farson and Wilkins two other soldiers that were made prisoners at that time to join with him on the intended Desertion & they were to leave the Fort the Night after they were apprehended. James Morrison soldier in the 8th Penna Regt appeared before the Court and after being sworn says shortly after they went to Fort Laurens the said Straffain had agreed with an Indian to pilot him to Detroit which he feign'd to do, when he came from Coochoking & that the said Straffain had ask'd Morrison to Desert with him, which he refus'd & would not consent to at the same time advis'd Straffain to quit that Notion, which he heard no more of afterwards 'till they were Confind—The Court ask'd the prisoner what he had to say in his own Defense. He said he had no notion of Deserting himself nor advising others to Desert to the Enemy that he meant to go down the Country and join some other Regiment & denies every charge laid against him. The Court after Maturely considering the Evidences given in & the heinous Nature of the Crimes of the Prisoner, in attempting to

desert to the Enemy & endeavouring to persuade others to do the same at a most Critical & alarming time, when the Garrison were at quarter allowance P^r^ day, being sensible of his wicked & dangerous intentions of informing the Enemy of the distress'd situation of the Fort—Are fully of the Opinion that he is guilty of the Crimes laid to his charge, & agreeable to their Consciences and Custom of War in like Cases tho' not particularly express'd in the Articles of War of the United States of America, do sentence him to be hang'd by the neck untill he is Dead.

John M^c^farson a soldier in the 8th Penn^a^ Reg^t^ was brought before the Court, on suspicion of deserting to the Enemy, Pleads not Guilty—Says that he was persuaded by Straffain to go to Detroit, & that he told him (Straffain) he was a British deserter & could not think of going to them again also inform'd one Matthews of the intended Desertion of Straffain.

Daniel Matthews soldier in the 8th Penn^a^ Reg^t^ appeared before the Court on Oath, & says M^c^farson did inform him of the intended Desertion of Straffain.

James Morrison soldier in the 8th Penn^a^ Reg^t^ appeard before the Court on Oath & says M^c^farson inform'd him that Straffain had ask'd him to desert but did not hear the Prisoners determination.

Michael Shaw soldier in the 8th Penn^a^ Reg^t^ appear'd before the Court on Oath & says M^c^farson told him that Straffain had ask'd him to Desert & the day before they were apprehended M^c^farson ask'd him if he would not go, he told M^c^farson he would not, but at the same time M^c^farson told the Evidence to inform Major Vernon (who at that time was Commandant at Fort Laurens) of Straffains intended Desertion.

The Court after maturely Considering the above Evidences in favour of the prisoner And none appearing against him but Circumstantial, are of opinion that he is not Guilty of the Charge laid against him & do unanimously acquit him.

Edward Wilkins a soldier in the 8th Penn^a^ Regiment was brought before the Court on suspicion of Deserting to the Enemy. Pleads not Guilty.

James Morrison soldier in the 8th Penn^a^ Reg^t^ appeard before the Court on Oath, & says he was inform'd by Danl Matthews that the said Wilkins was to be one of the party that intended to Desert

Daniel Matthews appeared before the Court on Oath & says John M^c^farson told him that Wilkins was to be one of the party.

Michael Shaw soldier in the 8th Penns^a^ Reg^t^ appear'd before the Court on Oath and says Wilkins told him that Straffain had ask'd him to Desert but Wilkins made no reply whether he would or not. The prisoner in his Defence says that Straffain did ask him to desert which he refus'd to do & told Straffain he had deserted from the Brittish & he would never go back to them again likewise says Straffain ask'd him to Desert while they were down the Muskingham which he also refus'd.

The Court Considering the above Evidences, & no positive proof appearing against the prisoner are of Opinion he is not Guilty of the charge laid against him, do order him to be discharg'd from his Confinement.

The Court Adjourns 'till Tomorrow 9 OClock

June 8th The Court met agreeable to Adjournment.

Bryan Gowrin a soldier in Captn Heths Independant Company, was brought before the Court, Charg'd with reinlisting during the War. Captn Beall appear'd before the Court, and made it appear that the said Gowran did inlist with him, a few days ago, during the War, & gave him Sixty Dollars in part of his Bounty which the Prisoner Acknowledged.

Captn Heth appeared before the Court & produced a Certificate of the Prisoner being already inlisted during the War which he Acknowledged he had signd, the Prisoner after being examined declar'd he did not read the Certificate he sign'd with Captn Heth & thought he was inlisted for three Years only.

The Court Maturely considering the above Charge are of Opinion that he is Guilty of a breach of the 3^d^ Article & 6th Section of the Rules & Articles of War; do sentence him to receive One Hundred Lashes well laid on, his bare back & put under Stoppages 'till he refunds the above bounty to Captn Beall.

John Young soldier in Captn Heths Independant Company was brought before the Court Charg'd with reinlisting during the War.

Lieu^t^ Berry 13th Virginia Regiment appear'd before the Court and made it appear that the said Young did inlist with him a few days ago, during the War, & gave him Eight Dollars in part of his Bounty which the Prisoner Acknowledged. Captn Heth appeared before the Court, & produced a Certificate of the Prisoner being already inlisted during the War which he acknowledged he had sign'd. The Prisoner after being Examined, Declared he did not

know the Contents of the Certificate when he sign'd it with Captn Heth, & thought he was inlisted for Three Years only. The Court maturely considering the above Charge, are of Opinion he is Guilty of a breach of the 3^{d} Article & 6th Section of the Rules and Articles of War do sentence him to Receive one Hundred Lashes well laid on his bare back, & put under stoppages 'till he refunds the above Bounty to Lieut^{t} Berry.

John Whitman a soldier in Captn Heths Independant Company was brought before the Court, Charg'd with reinlisting during the War which he acknowledged & to have received Nine Dollars in part of the Bounty with this Reserve, if he found out that he was inlisted during the War with Captn Heth he would refund the Money & return to his former Company, as there was no Evidence against him for being inlisted in Captn Heths Company during the War, The Court are of Opinion that he shall be releas'd from his present Confinement 'till it can be made appear by Captn Heth that he inlisted with him during the War

Matthew Pettite a soldier in the 8th Penns^{a} Reg^{t} was brought before the Court, charg'd with Desertion. Pleads not Guilty.

Serg^{t} Kennedy of the 8th Penns^{a} Reg^{t} appeared before the Court on Oath says that he apprehended the said Pettite at one Breeseleys where his Relations were & that he did not think the Prisoner intended to return back to his Regiment—The Prisoner in his Defense says, he wanted to see his Relations & wanted to get a Blanket, & when he was returning to his Regiment he strain'd his Knee & was not able to proceed on the Journey but intended to return as soon as he was able.

The Court after maturely Considering the above charge are of opinion that he is Guilty of Absenting himself without leave, do sentence him to Receive Fifty Lashes, well laid on his bare back, but beg leave to recommend him to the Commanding Officer for Mercy, on account of his Youth and Ignorance in Military Discipline.

The Court Adjourns till Tomorrow 9 O'Clock.

June 9th The Court met agreeable to Adjournment.

Joseph Neal a soldier in Col^{l} Rawling's Regiment was brought before the Court on suspicion of Deserting. Denies the Charge. No proof appearing against him & the suspicion arising only from Cutting one of his Ears & painting like the savages.

The Court are of Opinion that the Prisoner did it through wantonness & not with the Design of Deserting & therefore do quit him of the Charge.

James Beham a soldier in the 13 Virginia Regiment was brought before the Court the second time on suspicion of Killing a Friendly Indian Denies the Charge, & to prove his Innocence begs leave to produce to the Court an Evidence in his behalf

Patrick Grogan a soldier in the 13 Virginia Regiment appeared before the Court & after being sworn, declares he went in Company with the said Beham to Town immediately after Retreat Beating (without Arms, the same Evening the Indian receiv'd his Wound) & they were in Company together 'till 9 O'Clock when the patrole went the Rounds & the Serj^{t} of the Patrole told them to make haste [to] their Quarters for an Indian was hurt which they did immediately & further declares that the said Beham had not seen an Indian that Evening. After which the Court call'd for the Evidences against the said Prisoner none appearing, they are clearly of Opinion that he is not Guilty and unanimously acquit him of the Charge laid against him & do order his Irons taken off and set at Liberty

The Court Adjourns till Tomorrow 9 OClock

The Court whereof Col^{l} Bayard was President met according to Adjournment. Captn Heth in room of Captn Bready as a Member. The Court Adjourn'd till Tomorrow 9 O'Clock.

June 11th 1779 The Court met agreeable to Adjournment

Mr James Bryson A. D. Q. M. Genl for Fort M^{c}intosh arrested by Mr Vanlear A. D. Q. M. Genl for the Western District, for Neglect of Duty & disobedience of Orders, he was order'd before the Court for Tryal, but being Sick requested the Court to put his Tryal off for the present to which the Court agreed

The Court Adjourn'd 'till Tomorrow 9 O'Clock.

June 12th The Court met agreeable to Adjournment. Mr Bryson appear'd before the Court being ready for Tryal.

Mr Vanlear appeared before the Court & to make his Charges good produced a Letter which he wrote to said Bryson, which the Court Read & is as follows

Pitt May 15th 1779.

Dear Sir:

I wrote you a few days ago to prepare 25 P^{r} lash ropes, Halters Girths &c. for that number of Horses and likewise wrote since to prepare that number of Saddles. the last Letter did not reach you but make no doubt, you concluded from the first that the saddles would also be wanted. if you have not prepared them Dr Sir do it with all expedition and by no means detain the Command, I would be glad you would go with the boats & see them start Mr Neilly returns with you; hasten Bradford, send me an Abstract of your Expenditures, par-

ticularly of the Boat Men which went with Major Taylor up the Muskingham.
I am Y^rs &c

Mat. Vanlear A Q M

To James Bryson Esqr A Q M
I have sent a quantity of lash ropes by Mr Neilly

Captn Beall who commanded the party appeared before the Court on Oath declared he was detained three days on account of the Horses not being arrived at Cross Creek & not being properly Equip'd when they did arrive, he also said he heard Mr Vanlear say every thing would be ready by the time he could get to Cross Creek.

Questions put by the Court to Captn Beall.

Q. After the Horses did arrive, was it owing to the want of Saddles &c the Command was detain'd

A. Yes.

Q. Did it appear to You that Mr Bryson was attentive in repairing the Horses for the Journey.

A. He was.

Q. Was it by your request that Mr Bryson went to Tuscarawas?

A. No. but Mr Bryson ask'd me if it would be any Detriment for him to go. I told him if it did [not] interfere with his Business, I wou'd be glad of his Company.

Mr Bryson in his Defense says that he did undertake to do the Business at Cross Creek agreeable to Mr Vanlears request, but did not look upon himself bound to obey Mr Vanlears Orders, from his appointment which he produc'd to the Court & is as follows.

Pittsburgh Novr 10th 1778.

To James Bryson
Sir:

By virtue of the authority given me by Maj^r Genl Green Q M Genl of the United States, I hereby appoint you to assist me in the Quart^r Mast^r Genl Department. You are to the best of your knowledge to abide by my orders or the Commanding Officer of the Western Department. You are to be accountable for all Stores deliver'd to you or any Stores or articles you may purchase for the use of the Army by my Orders or the Orders of the Commanding Officer when given to you in Writing. You are to make me proper Returns One every Month of what Stores you may Issue what Receiv'd or Bought & what Stores on hand. You are not to Issue any Stores, but on the Generals Order or the Officer Commanding in the Gen^ls Absence. You are to have one or more Clarks, for to do the Business under your Care when it may be necessary. And in my Absence you are to have the whole Direction of the Quart^r Mas^rs Department at Beaver

Creek. You are also to be accountable to me or the Q M[r] Gen[l] of the United States for all sums of Public Money put into your hands by me or any other Person, and for your trouble you are to receive Captains pay and Rations, These instructions & all others you may receive from me or the Q. M. Gen[l] or the Commanding Officer of the Western Department, You are carefully to observe. Given under my Hand the Day and Year above Written

Archibald Steel D Q M Gen[l]

Questions put by the Court to M[r] Bryson

Q. What was the Reason of the Horses being detain'd at Cross Creek.

A. For want of Pack saddles &c.

Q. Did you not know those Articles were wanting

A. Capt[n] Beall said M[r] Vanlear told him that every thing would be ready by the time he got there, so that I thought M[r] Vanlear had sent them another way. The saddles at Fort M[c]intosh were not fit for service & I went to Cross Creek without them expecting they would not be wanted. I receiv'd no lash ropes that M[r] Vanlear should have sent down, Was Oblig'd to send up to Fort M[c]intosh for those bad saddles and to Hollidays Cove for Hides to make lash ropes.

Q. What Reason had you for going to Tuscarawas?

A. I expected to be back near as soon as the Boats could get up the River on account of the High Water.

The Court are of Opinion that it was a mistake of M[r] Bryson, in not taking the saddles from Fort M[c]intosh owing to what Capt[n] Beall said that he expected every thing to be ready at Cross Creek—& not with a Design to neglect his Duty The Court are also of opinion he ought to Obey'd M[r] Vanlear as a Senior Officer but that he could Justify himself in not obeying him from the nature of his Appointment which gave him the whole direction of the Q M Gen[l] Department at Beaver Creek & to obey no Orders unless from the Q. M. Gen[l] the Commanding Officer of the Western Department or Col[l] Archibald Steel D Q M Gen[l]

The Court Maturely considering the Charges laid against him are of Opinion they are not properly supported, Therefore do acquit him & order him to be releas'd from his Arrest.

The Court Adjourn'd till Tomorrow 9 O'Clock.

June 14th The Court met agreeable to Adjournment & adjournd 'till Tomorrow 9 O'Clock

STEP: BAYARD L[t] Col[l] 8th P. Reg[t]
President.

ORDERLY BOOK OF EIGHTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT

[Official orderly book.[1] 2NN1–106. Transcript.]

LANCASTER, June 17th 1778.

A Regimental Court Martial to sit tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock for ye trial of such prisoners as shall be brought before them. All witnesses & parties concerned, to attend. The Court to consist of one Captain & two subalterns—Capt. Prather Presid^t^

The Forage-Master will take care that no horses are admitted into the pasture, or allowed forage except such as are entitled thereto—sick officers' horses are to be entitled

The Quarter Master will see that the vaults made for the Reg^t^ be duly covered, & fresh earth thrown into them every morning. The Rolls are to be called three times a day, & all absentees reported & confined.

A return of all the women of the Reg^t^ to be made immediately, with their names & usefulness in the reg^t^—none but such as appear to be cleanly and industrious in washing for the officers and men, will be allowed rations in future, nor permitted to remain with the Regiment.

The officers will pay the strictest attention to the cleanliness of the men and camp in general. Nothing reflects greater discredit on a Regim^t^ than the want of cleanliness, decency & good order.

[1] When Dr. Draper was living in Philadelphia in the year 1849, he secured from Dr. William A. Irvine of Warren County, Pa., a grandson of Gen. William Irvine, a number of the latter's manuscript papers, from which to make extracts and transcripts. Among them Dr. Draper found the Orderly Book of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, covering the time from June 17, 1778 to Sept. 30, 1783. This Dr. Draper set himself the task of transcribing, which he completed in April, 1851. At the head of the document he wrote as follows:

"Genl M^c^Intosh and Col. Brodhead's Orderly Book. (among the Irvine Papers: On the cover Within is once written 'Capt Lieut. John Hardin'—and repeatedly 'John Guthrie, Ensign.')"

Probably Dr. Draper intended to indicate that Capt.-Lieut. John Hardin and Ensign John Guthrie had acted as adjutants or scribes in producing the orderly book. So far as known the original is not now extant. The transcript appears to have been made with scrupulous care. We publish here the portion covering the period of the present volume. The remainder of the document will appear in later volumes of this series.

In future no woman of the Regim^{t} is to demand more than sixpence for washing a soldier's shirt, nor more than one shilling for washing an officer's shirt, on pain of being drummed out.

DAN^{L} BRODHEAD, Col. 8th Pen. Reg^{t}

LANCASTER, June 19th 1778.

At a Regimental Court Martial whereof Capt. Basil Prather was President held yesterday, William McCalley, a private in the 8th P^{a} Reg^{t}, tried for drunkenness, assaulting of Wm Cruse, & disobedience of orders, was found guilty of drunkenness & disobedience of orders, & sentenced to receive 25 lashes for each crime. The Colonel approves of the sentence of the Court, but in consideration of this being the first time of his troubling a Court Martial, his submission & promises of better conduct, remits the punishment & orders his release.

At the same Court Alex^{r} Graham & Thos Ross were tried on suspicion of theft & acquitted; they are to be immediately released from confinement.

At the same Court Thomas Mathews was tried for neglect of duty, & on his own confession found guilty of the charge, and sentenced to receive twenty-five lashes. The Colonel approves the sentence, but as it appears to be his first crime, remits the punishment & orders him to be released accordingly.

As several complaints have been made by the inhabitants, that several depredations have been committed, and insults offered them by soldiers, not knowing how to distinguish to what regiment they belong, & consequently censure the soldiery in general, the Colonel finds himself concerned for the reputation of his own reg^{t}, and in order that troops may be distinguished & no reflections cast on his reg^{t}, which he has the pleasure to know have hitherto supported its credit, he directs that no soldier be permitted to leave camp without leave from an officer.

The Colonel thanks the officers of the Reg^{t} for their steady attention to the duties of the Reg^{t}, and has the pleasure to inform them that he is now possessed of ample authority to have the Reg^{t} decently clothed.

The Court Martial which sat yesterday, is to sit immediately for the trial of such prisoners as shall be brought before them.

DAN^{L} BRODHEAD, Col. 8th P^{a} Reg^{t}

CAMP, LANCASTER, June 23d 1778.

Any soldier or soldiers destroying private property may depend on meeting with the most exemplary punishment. A Court of Inquiry is to sit immediately to inquire into the conduct of Capt. Thos Cook respecting his absence from the regt, & report their opinion thereon—Maj. Vernon, Presdt

D. BRODHEAD, Col.

LANCASTER July 5th 1778.

At one o'clock this afternoon the drums are to beat the "General"; at half past one the "Troop." As soon as the Regt is paraded, the drums are to beat a march. A sergt & 12 men are to be warned to guard the waggons at one o'clock to march on the road leading to Wright's Ferry. No women are to be permitted to ride in the waggons without leave in writing from ye Colonel. None will be permitted to tie up packs or other articles in ye tents; and the officers & non-commissioned officers will take notice that the tents are to be rolled up in the neatest and most compact manner. The Regt must have its small guards as directed in General Orders, front & rear.

No soldier will be permitted to leave the ranks without leave from the officer commanding the platoon to which he belongs.

DAN. BRODHEAD.

CARLISLE, July 8th 1778.

The men under Capt. Finley are to be clothed to-morrow morning, & join their respective companies. All the arms belonging to the Regt are to be cleaned in ye. best manner possible. The whole Regt will appear clean as it is in ye power of each man to do it. The officers are requested to be particularly careful that no disorders happen in camp; and any soldier who shall be found guilty of destroying property must expect to meet exemplary punishment: No excuse will be admitted for neglect of duty on the head of violation of these or former orders. Vaults are directly to be made & covered with green boughs, which are to be covered every morning early; as *the Regt is to march in a day or two*, no applications for furloughs will be received.

CARLISLE, July 10th 1778.

The Colonel is very unfortunate in being under the disagreeable necessity of multiplying orders to his Regt, which for discipline & regularity he has so much endeavored to raise in the estimation

of the world; but disagreeable as it may be, his great desire of preserving its reputation demands that the following orders be most punctually complied with.

No officer henceforth shall presume to leave the camp to the distance of half a mile, without leave from the commanding officer, & if any shall be daring enough to attempt a disobedience, such offenders may depend on being tried for their offences agreeably to the Rules of War.

No soldier is to be absent from camp after retreat-beating, on pain of being immediately punished with 25 lashes.

The Colonel hopes he has given ye Reg^t^ the clearest proofs of his attachment to officers & men, & is determined to convince them of the most earnest resolution to be obeyed; the Colonel, therefore, expects that the commissioned & non-commissioned officers will not suffer discipline to relax; but, on the contrary, will exert themselves to bring it to the greatest perfection, will command respect even to the centinel.

These orders are to be publicly read to the Regiment at Troop beating, by the Major or Adjutant of the Reg^t^, and considered as standing orders.

A careful serj^t^ & 10 men are to be detached every evening at retreat beating to examine the streets of Carlisle, & if any soldier not having a written permission from a Commiss^d^ officer shall be found in the town, such soldier shall be made a prisoner & punished as above mentioned.

D. B.

HEAD QUARTERS, SUNBURY, July 18th 1778.

Lt. Graham is appointed Brigade Major, and is to be obeyed and respected as such until further orders.

D. B. Col. Com^s^ Detachm^t^

HEAD QUARTERS, MUNSEY, July 20th 1778.

A captain, 3 serj^ts^ & 33 rank & file are to be paraded to-[morrow] morning at Sunrise, & scout to Serrat's Mill, & two miles beyond it, to make discoveries of the enemy, & protect the inhabitants: Each man is to draw one gill of spirits & one day's provision. Another party consisting of one subaltern, 2 serj^ts^ & 20 rank & file, to parade at the same time to go with the Q. M^r^ to fetch in two waggon loads of straw. Mr Wallace will furnish a guide to each party.

D. B. Col. com^dg^ Detachm^t^

HEAD QUARTERS, MUNSY, July 22d 1778.

Officer of the day Capt. Jack—officer of guard Lt. Finley.

Countersign, Sterling: Parole, Laurens.

A regimental Court Martial to consist of Capt. Carnahan, President, Captn Jack, & Lieut. Finley members, to sit immediately for the trial of all prisoners in the Guard House whose crime may be cognizable before the Court, and all witnesses & parties are to attend.

No soldier is to be absent, without leave in writing from an office[r], from his Quarters, to the distance of three hundred yards, & no excuse will be admitted for a breach of this order. The officers & men are to be immediately furnished with an allowance of soap for the washing their linen; & it is expected each man will appear as clean as his present circumstances will admit. The guards are always to be clean-shaved & well powdered. The frequent Court Martials & examples made for crimes, it is hoped will deter the most hardy from future villainy & neglect of duty. It gives infinite pain to every good officer to see his soldiers punished; & yet none can be insensible of the necessity of examples of that nature. The Colonel, therefore, hopes to be saved from the mortification he feels on every trespass committed by his men, and expects that they will consider their honor, & the honor of the Regt, to which they belong, as to scorn to do a mean action or be guilty of a mean thing.

D. B. Col. Comdg Detachmt

After orders, July 22d 1778.

A captain, 3 serjts & 25 men are to parade at Sunrise to-morrow morning & scout to Esqr Culbertson's & Hagarman's to make discoveries of the enemy & protect the inhabitants: Each man to draw one gill of spirits & one days provision. Mr Wallace will furnish a guide.

D. B. Col. Comdg Detachmt

HEAD QUARTERS, CARLISLE, Aug. 9th 1778

The troops are to hold themselves in readiness to march in a moment's warning. Six additionals are to be added to the men already assigned to the artillery, & Capt. Dawson is appointed to the Artillery under Lt. Col. Cambray till further orders. The Revelie is to beat at break of day as usual, the General at Sunrise, the assembly at six; & a march immediately after the troops are

paraded: A careful officer to remain at Carlisle to take care of the sick, & march them by the safest rout to Fort Pitt as soon as they are recovered.

The following [order] is to be observed: The Light Infantry in the front by files with advance guards: The Artillery & amunition-waggons next the Infantry: The General's & Colonel's baggage next, the amunition waggons, then the main body, after which will follow the Hospital Stores & baggage waggons, then the Q^{r} M$^{r's}$ stores, the commissary's stores, next them the rear guard, & cattle in the rear of the whole: The march to begin from the right, the greatest silence & good order to be observed: Both officers & men are to appear as clean as their circumstances will admit, with their hair powdered, & green boughs in their hats. The troops are to be furnished with one day's provisions, which is to be cooked this evening & to-morrow morning with one gill [liquor] p^{r} man.

HEAD QUARTERS, SHIPPENSBURG, Aug. 13th 1778.

No person upon any pretence whatever is to be suffered to ride in a waggon without a certificate first obtained from the Colonel Commandant. Captn Clark is appointed to superintend the line of march by Fort Loudon. The Light Infantry are to march in front as usual, & an active subaltern & sixteen men are to march in the rear of the stores. The Artillery with their attraits(?), General's & Colonel's waggons next the Light Infantry: All the rest of the Troops are to march thro' Cissny's Gap to Fort Littleton, under the command of Lieut. Col. Bayard.

HEAD QUARTERS, PEOPLES'S TAVERN, Aug. 18th 1778.

No soldier is to presume to leave his platoon or file without leave from an officer, on pain of immediate punishment. As nothing so much discovers the want of discipline as soldiers discharging their pieces without leave, such trespassers in future will be immediately confined & receive exemplary punishment, & it is expected that the officers will use their best endeavors to detect such as are guilty of such unsoldierly practices. To-morrow each healthy soldier must carry his own pack.

HEAD QUARTERS, BEDFORD, Aug. 25th 1778.

The Commissary is to furnish the troops with their usual allowance of soap to wash their linen, which is to be done without loss of time. The waggon-masters are to examine their waggons

& horses & report to the Quarter Master, the repairs wanting their waggons, & the number of shoes wanting to their horses, who will see them equipt with the utmost expedition. The Pack-Horse Master will likewise make a return of the shoes wanting for pack-horses. The arms are to be cleaned as soon as convenient & put in the best firing order. The troops are to be completed to fifty rounds of powder & ball, & the officers are requested to take notice of such non-commissioned officers & soldiers as have embezzled & wasted their amunition. A field-piece will fire this evening at Retreat beating; & henceforth a field-piece will fire every morning at the break of day until further orders. The arms are to be inspected, & the necessary repairs to be made immediately.

HEAD QUARTERS, BEDFORD, Aug. 17th (27) 1778.

The troops are to be furnished this evening with one day's provisions, which are to be cooked, each man to hold himself in readiness at a moment's warning, each man to be allowed a gill of rum. If the weather is fair, the General is to beat precisely at six o'clock, & the Assembly at half after six. The soldiers absent from the parade must expect to be punished with rigor.

After Orders, BEDFORD, Aug. 27th 1778.

As flour is scarce in this country, & cannot be procured so as to furnish the usual allowance of flower, the Commissary of Issues is directed to issue only one pound of flour, to each man in future; but he is to issue one ½ of a pound of beef in addition to the usual allowance of that article until further orders.

HEAD QUARTERS, BEDFORD, Aug. 28th 1778.

A Serjeant & eight men to be detached immediately with the Forage Master into the Glades to collect forage & provision for the Detachment. Serjt Armstrong of the 8th Pa Regt is appointed Conductor of Artillery Stores, from the 10th inst., being the time he entered upon that service, & is to be respected as such until further orders. The same orders which were issued respecting the march to be made this day, are to be attended to to-morrow morning. By order of Col. Brodhead,

Aa GRAHAM, Bde Major

HEAD QUARTERS, BEDFORD, Aug. 29th 1778.

The artillery with the amunition & attrait, & all the waggons (excepting those that carry the tents escorted by all the troops, excepting the Light Infantry,) are immediately to move up the road four miles, where they are to halt until further orders. As soon as the rain ceases, the pack-horses are to be loaded, joined with all the Commissary's stores, & to move up to the same place, where there are a number of houses & barns to contain the officers & soldiers: Great care must be taken to secure the arms in the most effectual manner from the rain.

CAMP, STATLERS, Septr 1st 1778.

Parole—Washington: Countersign—Lee.

An immediate return to be made by the waggon masters of Brigades of the quantity of forage now in possession of the waggoners, & every waggoner who shall be convicted of making a false return will be immediately tried & punished severely. Riding-horses are not to be furnished with forage until further orders, without a special order from the commanding officer. A detail of the guards is to be made to the Brigade Major by 8 o'clock to-morrow morning. The "General" to beat at six o'clock to-morrow morning, when the troops are to tie up their packs, but the tents are not to be struck till ordered by the Brigade Major.

HEAD QUARTERS, LIGONIER, Sept. 5th 1778.

The Colonel Commandant is astonished to see such an unsoldierly practice prevailing at a post daily exposed to alarms, as he discovers by the constant firing of guns about the Garrison, & does apprehend that the amunition expended belongs to the public, which must render the practice the more unwarrantable. He, therefore, in the most pointed terms does forbid a practice which so strongly indicates want of discipline & does declare that he will make examples of such as shall be found offending in like manner for the future.

Neither officer nor soldier is to be absent from the town or garrison without leave in writing from the Commanding Officer. And in order to detect such as may be presumptious enough to violate these orders, the Rolls are to be called three times a day.

HEAD QUARTERS, LIGONIER, Sept. 6th 1778.

The troops are to hold themselves in readiness to march on the shortest notice. They are to be furnished with provisions for to-morrow and be allowed half a gill p^r man; to-morrow morning the "General" is to beat at break of day, and the "Assembly" at sunrise. Twenty four pioneers under the command of a Captain & two serjeants are to march in the front of the Detachment, with proper tools for repairing the roads, but must take their arms with them. The Captain of the party of Pioneers is to be appointed immediately, & wait on the commanding officer for his instructions.

HEAD QUARTERS, FORT PITT, Sept. 12th 1778.

A complete return of the Detachment lately arrived under my command to be immediately made out for the General's inspection. Pay Rolls are to be immediately made out for the 8th Penn^a Regiment for the months of April, May & June, which pay will be drawn from the Pay Master General, and the Captains are requested as soon after as possible to make out the pay-abstracts of their companies for the months of July & August; & in future all Muster Rolls & Pay abstracts are to be made out on the first of each month.

DANIEL BRODHEAD, Col. Comd^t

HEAD QUARTERS, FORT PITT, Monday14th Septr 1778.

Parole—Nimwah: Countersign—Nimrod.

A General Court Martial whereof Lt. Col. Bayard is appointed President is to sit in the garrison to-morrow morning at 8 o'clock, for the trial of some officers of the 8th Penn^a Reg^t, who have been reported to be absent without leave, and such prisoners as shall be brought before them either from the Guard House or in the custody of the 8th Penn^a Reg^t.

All the troops are to hold themselves in readiness to march at an hour's warning. Regimental surgeons are to be furnished with medicine by D^r McKinzie, & Commiss^ys and Q^r M^rs are to observe this order also, & be properly prepared. The General expects that they will attend at Head Quarters for instructions every morning for the future.

HEAD QUARTERS, PITTSBURG, Sept^r

Col. Crawford is appointed Comm^t of the troops from Youghagany, Monongalia, & Ohio counties, Col. Brodhead Comm^r of

the two Continental regiments, & those who come from Westmoreland & Bedford counties, & are to be respected and obeyed as such by their respective Brigades during the campaign, & entitled to a Brigade Major for each of them out of the line. The General orders a return of all the artillery amunition & all other military stores, to be made immediately, & the whole delivered to the care of Lt. Coll. Cambray, who is appointed by Congress to command the Engineer & Artillery Department west of the Mountain. The Dep. P. M. Gen[l] is also ordered to get an account & take charge of all the public clothing of this Department, & deliver it out to the Paymasters of each regiment, and corps as shall be directed, who are to keep exact accounts of every particular article, & retain in their hands respectively every month the first cost only of such as they are ordered to issue. The Commanding Officer of each corps will be furnished upon their order with a proportionable quantity of such leather as the Commissary of Issues will be able to exchange for raw hides according to the number of wants of their men, & it is expected each will use his utmost endeavors to provide thread, awls, &c. for making a sufficient number of shoes. All the troops are to march this day, as already directed, & the General expects they will vie with each other in alacrity & expedition that they may be able, late as the season is, to do something this time for the honor of their country.

CAMP, SISNEY'S FARM, Sept. 23[d] 1778.

Col. Brodhead having received information that some of the troops under his command have wantonly slaughtered a number of swine belonging to the poor, distressed inhabitants who have taken shelter in the interior part of the country, being determined to put a stop to such pernicious & scandalous practices, he hereby offers a reward of 12 dollars to any person who will give him information of the trespasser or trespassers, in order that they may be brought to condign punishment.

DAN[L] BRODHEAD, Col. Com[dt]

	serj[ts]	rank
Infantry	2	42
Swearingen's	3	26
Dawson's	2	17
Clark's	1	19
Carnahan's	4	19
Finley's	2	25

Brady's	4	32
Hardin's	2	28
Jack's	1	25
	21	233

After Orders, PITTSBURGH, Septr 20th 1778.

Doctor Liverit Pusey, a prisoner in the Guard House for desertion these 19 weeks past, is alluded [allowed], while he behaves himself, to attend the D. Director General and be under his inspection, provided he appears every evening before the officer of the guard, who is always to report him, and does not at any time or on any pretence go above one mile from where the General Hospital, West of the Mountains, is or will be.

The unhappy prisoner Serj^{t} Wm Gallaspy, of the 13th V^{a} Reg^{t}, now under sentence of death for desertion, is reprieved until the pleasure of Congress is known, provided he behaves himself well, and to give the unfortunate culprit an opportunity of deserving this mercy of his country which he has so heinously offended, the General has ordered him to do duty in his regiment.

Parole—Quibble town: Countersign—Quebec.

HEAD QUARTERS, FORT PITT, Sept. 21st 1778.

Parole—White-Eyes: Countersign—Killbuck.

As Capt. White-Eyes of the Delaware Nation, has distinguished himself by his solid & sound judgment, his steady and unalterable attachment to the interest of United States & humanity, amidst the general disaffection, prejudice, & corruption of his countrymen, was the principal instrument of our alliance with his tribe, & is likely to be of considerable service by his knowledge, understanding, & influence: Genl McIntosh therefore thinks proper, in the name of the United States, to confer upon the said Captn White Eyes the title of Lieut. Colonel of all the Indian Nations between the rivers Ohio, Mississippi & the Lakes, expecting Congress will confirm it, and orders him to be distinguished hereafter by the name of Coll. White-Eyes.

CAMP, RACCOON, Sept. 30th 1778.

The very extraordinary waste of the best amunition belonging to the Regiment has determined the Colonel to prevent the like unjustifiable practice for the future: He therefore orders that the

officers do immediately mark the powder-horns & count the bullets of each rifleman in the regiment, & count the cartridges of musketeer, & that neither officer nor soldier be seen out of the line of march, nor from camp, without his leave in writing. No person who can not come recommended for his skill & success in hunting deer & honey need apply for leave—neither will more than four be licensed at one time for that purpose. It is expected that each officer will be answerable for the conduct of his men; and, in order that offenders may be detected, the Rolls are to be called three times a day, & on the march at every considerable halt: No excuse whatsoever will be admitted for breach or neglect of these orders.

DAN^L^ BRODHEAD, Col. Comm^d^.

* * * * * * * *[1]

[HEADQUARTERS, FORT MCINTOSH, Oct. 8, 1778.]

The alarm before this morning must convince every person of the propriety & necessity of being always prepared & in order to receive the enemy; and it is with singular pleasure the General thus expresses his satisfaction at the readiness of the militia and Col. Gibson's regiment upon this occasion & their attention to the orders that have been issued. As the stores & troops from over the mountains are expected here daily, it is hoped that all who wish the expedition to succeed, & to have satisfaction for the barbarities & murders committed on so many of their fellow citizens will exert themselves, & give every possible assistance to the necessary work we have in hand at this place, that our march may not be detained an hour after their arrival. The General requests the company of the gentlemen upon duty always at dinner. Field officer of the day to-morrow, Col. Gibson.

HEAD QUARTERS, FORT M^C^INTOSH, Oct. 9, 1778.

Parole—Orleans: Countersign—Canhaway.

As the two continental reg^ts^ are now together, the General orders them to be arranged by the field officers present of each regiment respectively agreeably to the establishment of the army by Congress, & the example of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in obedience thereto. Each field officer is to command a company, & proper officers chosen to command the Light Infantry who are to be picked out of each regiment, & a return made of the officers retained as well as the supernumeraries.

[1] At this point in the orderly book occur the paroles and countersigns for September 30–October 8 inclusive.

Col. Crawford is also desired to form the militia as nearly as may be to such arrangement. As the dew in the morning may be injurious to the soldiers' healths, they are allowed to sit in their tents with their arms in their hands until revelie beating, & it is expected the officers will be particularly careful in seeing it done. Col. Crawford's Brigade is allowed to fire off their guns this afternoon at three o'clock.

Major Vernon field officer of the day to-morrow.

		c.	s.	p.
Detail of the Guards	8th Regt	1	2	50
		s.	s.	p.
	13th Regt	2	1	27

Head Quarters, Fort M°Intosh, Oct. 10th 1778.

Parole—Gates: Countersign—Arnold.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	Privates
8th Regt	1	1	2	6	60
13th Regt	"	2	1	3	37
Total	1	3	3	9	97

Head Quarters, Fort M°Intosh, Oct. 11th 1778.

As some narrow-minded persons, who not regarding the good of their country, nor yet the rules of common honesty, have presumed to approach this camp, and in defiance of all order & regularity, without license, at the most exhorbitant price sold liquor to soldiers: Therefore in order to deter all persons from committing the like abuses for the future: the Col. Commt doth direct that no person whatever shall presume to sell liquor to either officer or soldier without first having obtained leave from the Commanding Officer present, or from the General; and all officers and soldiers are enjoined to give immediate notice of persons bringing liquor to or near camp for sale, & that soldiers may be encouraged to give such notice to their officers, the Col. Commt doth promise to give a reward of 5s pr gallon to any soldier who shall give the earliest notice of such trespassers, & the liquor so seized shall be issued to the troops.

* * * * * * * *[1]

[1] At this point in the orderly book occur the paroles, countersigns, and names of field officers for October 11–14 inclusive.

[HEADQUARTERS, FORT MCINTOSH, Oct. 14, 1778.]

The Col. Comm[t] having determined to draw in the picquet-guards to a certain line which he has caused to be made for the purpose of rendering the duty less fatiguing. All horses & cattle are to be driven within the new line daily by sun-set. No excuse will be received for neglect of these orders.

After Orders. HEAD QUARTERS, Oct. 14th 1778.

The Picquet guards are to send patroles every morning to examine the ground between them and the ground at first assigned them, as they are to return there each morning at 7 o'clock. The patroles should be sent out as soon as it is light enough to discover an enemy & prevent a surprize, & the non-commissioned officers sent to patrole, to report their discoveries, if any, to the commanding officer of the Picquets. The Picquets are to be drawn into the new line every evening at Retreat-beating, at which time the artificers & fatigue parties are to return again to camp. Officer of the day to-morrow, Col. Evans.

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[HEAD QUARTERS, FORT PITT, Oct. 21, 1778.]

All officers & others employed in the continental service, either in the line or the Staff, are ordered immediately down to the camp at Beaver Creek, unless it be those who are ordered upon stations who are allowed to be absent upon the necessary duties of their office. The General is surprised to see so many of the Staffs and officers of the 13th Virginia Regiment absent from where their duty requires them to be without knowing the occasion, or reason of such absence, which he expects in future to be informed of, otherwise they must be taken up as deserters. Such irregularity is not even known, & would be inexcusable in militia. The commanding officer at Fort-Pitt is desired particularly to observe these orders strictly & report all defalters, or send them to their duty.

LACHLAN M[c]INTOSH, Dep. Adj[t] Gen[l] Western army.

HEAD QUARTERS, PITTSBURGH, Oct[r] 22[d] 1778.

Parole—Honesty: Countersign—Policy.

As the Assistant Director of Hospital in this Department has given up his appointment, the Issuing Commissary of Hospital Stores is directed to deliver to Doct[r] Newman, or the surgeons

[1] At this point in the orderly book occur the paroles, countersigns, and names of field officers for October 15–21 inclusive.

of the regiments, such articles as they stand in need of for their sick respectively, giving their receipts for the same.

The General having unsuccessfully endeavored to engage the wholesome & useful article of beer for the soldiers of this Department on reasonable terms, & finding Agnus Labatt, brewer, taking every advantage of the necessities of the public, & extorting unmercifully upon the soldiers upon all occasions. He positively forbids, & orders all officers, soldiers & others in the Continental Service, whether regulars or militia, to have no kind of dealing whatsoever with the said Agnus Labatt, or any person or persons whom he employs, without leave, until he retails his beer upon reasonable terms, upon the penalty of one month's pay, one half to the informer, the other half for the use of the sick soldiers. This order will be cheerfully complied with by one who wishes well to the soldiers & his country, & desires to retaliate on extortioners in their own way.

The General wishes to see all the Staff with their stores, &c. removed to Beaver Creek as soon as possible, agreeably to the orders of yesterday, where they are wanted immediately to receive & provide conveniences for their stores, & render inexcusable persons who neglect their duty on pretence of business with them.

LACHLAN M^{c}INTOSH, Dep. Adj^{t} Gen. West^{n} Dep^{t}

FORT M^{c}INTOSH, Octr 22^{d} 1778

The Colonel Commandant is much surprised after General orders being issued to the contrary, some persons yet unknown have presumed to mark trees in the woods with initial letters & their names at large, & thereby give great uneasiness to our good friends and allies the Delaware Nation or friend Indians: He, therefore, does promise a reward of five pounds to any person who shall make information of such who, in contempt of orders, have acted so daringly, & he does most strictly forbid the like practice in future, being determined to punish all who shall offend in like manner.

DAN^{l} BRODHEAD, Col. Com^{dt}.

FORT M^{c}INTOSH, October 26th 1778.

General Orders.

A General Court Martial from the Continental Line, whereof Major Taylor is appointed President, is to sit this morning at 9 o'clock for the trial of Mr Hadley of the North Carolina light dragoons, & such other prisoners as shall be brought before them.

The General observes in ye returns of this week that above one twentieth part of our little army are employed as officers' servants; and as their having any is rather an indulgence than allowed, and the men have hard duty between guards & fatigues, he expects at least gentlemen will restrain them to a moderate number, and that in future they will appear once a day upon the parade to shew that they may be of some service when required.

No furloughs are allowed on any pretence at this time. Col. Crawford & the field officers from the other side of the Mountains are required to attend at the General's Tent at 11 o'clock this morning.

FORT M^c^INTOSH, Octr 27th 1778.

Parole—Berkley: Countersign—Hampshire.

Col. Crawford is desired to join the Berkley & Augusta troops into one corps, & those from Hampshire & Rockingham into another, who may be distinguished or called by the third and fourth regiments of his brigade; & out of these two corps he is to order one company of pick^d^ officers & men for the Light Infantry, observing to have no company less than fifty men, agreeably to the liberal determination & request of the field officers of those corps. And another such company of Light Infantry from ye first & second regiments.

Col. Brodhead is also desired to keep the two Light Infantry companies of his Brigade complete, as these are the most necessary & useful troops on an expedition.

The General is extremely sorry to find the unmilitary practise of firing guns in & about camp become so customary since he left it last, & no notice taken of it: As he flattered himself it was entirely abolished, he observed yesterday with infinite concern the imprudent eagerness of military as well as militia, & is sorry to say of officers as well as men, on pretext of a trifling deer, which might have been sent by a cunning & vigilant enemy (& well known to be practised in such deceptions through our camp) with a design to surprise it, without any thought or attempt to guard against such manoeuver, which is very frequent. The General is inclined rather to entreat than order officers to be more careful for the future; he could wish gentlemen would consider such practices are directly against & in contempt of a standing general order already issued here. That a strict subordination and obedience to such orders, without inquiring into the reason of them, until they are first obeyed, is the very first principle &

foundation of all military discipline, & without which every pretence to the lesser forms & appendages of it are mere farce.

In order to indulge the people in their favorite diversion of hunting, the General permits it, provided it be out of hearing of the picquets on both sides of the river, but positively forbids shooting upon any other occasion without leave, & expects hereafter that if two guns are heard within two or three minutes of each other by day, & one by night, that the drums shall beat to arms & the whole line turn out immediately, prepared for action.

The General Court Martial, whereof Major Taylor was President, is dissolved.

FORT M°INTOSH, Octr 27th 1778.

Regimental Orders.

Whereas, the Colonel has thought proper to permit the soldiers to hunt, in order to provide themselves with skins to supply the place of shoes and the other necessaries: It is the Major's positive orders that no non-commissioned officer or soldier do, upon any pretence, sell or barter skins or moccasins to any person belonging to another regiment, under pain of being severely punished: But they may sell or barter them in their own reg^{t} to such soldiers as stand in need of them.

FRED^{K} VERNON.

HEAD QUARTERS, Tuesday 2^{d} November, 1778.

Field officer to-morrow, Col. Gibson. Detail same as yesterday.

Twelve hundred of the activest and choicest men out of the whole line are to be got ready to march at an hour's warning, with their arms & accoutrements each having a bayonet or tomahawk, & forty rounds p^{r} man in the best order, with two spare flints, & also their clothes, tents, blankets, kettles & every necessary for encamping.

Col. Cambray, the Commissaries & Quarter Masters will apply to the General for what they are to provide. At the special request of Col. Brodhead, Capt. Jos^{h} Finley is appointed to act as his Brigade Major in the absence of Mr Graham; & Mr Arch^{d} Reed appointed an Ensign in the 8th P^{a} Reg^{t} Dr Skull is appointed Surgeon of the militia from this side of the mountains, & Dr Gay surgeon of the militia from the other side, who are to consult when necessary with Doctors Morgan & Brown, all of whom are to be respected accordingly.

As Mr Haymaker will be otherwise employed, Mr King is to superintend all the works, who requires that all fatigues and workmen shall go to their rest or meats [meals] only at a certain beat of the drum as he shall direct, & return to their work again upon beating the Pioneer's march, which is to be observed for the future on penalty of one day's pay.

Lt. Col. Campbell is to have the command of this and all other posts on the other side of the Ohio & Allegany Rivers until further orders: He is to have the direction of, & use his utmost endeavors to collect a sufficient quantity of forage, provision & other stores here, as soon as possible, & give orders for that purpose to the different departments of the staff.

A General Court Martial, whereof Major Vernon is President, to sit this morning at 8 o'clock for the trial of Capt. M^c^Cormick of the 13th V^a^ Reg^t^ now under arrest, & such other prisoners as may be brought before them.

Mr James Berwick to act as Judge Advocate during Col. Benton's absence from Head Quarters. Major Harrison, of the Youghagany Regiment, is ordered to assist the D^y^ Q^r^ Master General in procuring forage.

FORT M^c^INTOSH, Nov. 4th 1778.

The Detachment ordered to be ready ye 2^d^ instant, are to march immediately as they will be directed, & no excuse will be taken for any delay. Ensign Ward of Captn Ferrol's Company, is removed at ye request of Col. Brodhead in ye same rank he now has, into the 8th Penn^a^ Reg^t^; & Ensign Dolton, in ye 13th V^a^ Reg^t^, is removed into Captn Ferrol's company in Ensign Ward's room.

At a General Court Martial held yesterday at this garrison, whereof Maj. Vernon was President, Capt. M^c^Cormick, 13th V^a^ Reg^t^, was tried for disobedience of orders & for being absent from his regiment, & other reports the officers lay to his charge. The Court are of opinion Capt. M^c^Cormick was guilty of disobedience of orders & being absent from his regiment, & sentence him to be discharged from ye service, and it appearing to the Court that Capt. M^c^Cormick did act as Sheriff of Youghagany County—the Court further direct the said M^c^Cormick shall have no pay as Captain from ye 11th Novr 1777, being the date of his furlough. The General is sorry that after consulting his principal officers, & after mature deliberation of ye charges & evidence against Capt. M^c^Cormick & his defence, & the tenderness due to every man's reputation, he cannot in justice to his conscience

agree to the sentence of the court, as Capt. M°Cormick repeatedly requested leave to resign, & always declared his determination not to serve with officers whom he imagined sought his ruin, as he neglected his private business, & would not be qualified in ye Sheriff's office until the matter was settled, the appointment being so late as the 9th of June, 1778, & anxious to have his discharge: His pay continues to the 15th of Jany last when his furlough expired, & has leave to resign when he settles with his company and regiment.

Nathaniel Heaton, a pack-horse driver, tried for neglect of duty, to which he pleads guilty: The Court, on account of his former good conduct, only sentence him to be severely reprimanded by Col. Steel, & to return to his duty, which is approved of.

Thomas Cunningham, of Capt. Heath's Independent Company, tried at the same court for desertion & assisting a prisoner to escape, was found guilty of desertion & being drunk on guard, & sentenced to receive 100 lashes for each crime, amounting to 200 lashes on his bare back well laid on. The General approves of the sentence, but remits one half of the punishment, & orders Col° Campbell to see the other half put in execution.

James Ringrove, of Capt. Ferrol's company, tried at the same court for mutiny, & was found guilty of a breach of the 2^d^ art^l^ 2^d^ sect. of the Articles of War, & sentenced to receive 50 lashes on his bare back; & it appearing that the prisoner is of an infamous character, the Court further sentence him to be drummed through the army with a rope round his neck, & never to be seen in the army again, which is approved of, & his Captain ordered to see it put in execution immediately.

Neh^a^ Weldon, pack-horse driver, charged with theft, but as no evidence appeared against him, he is discharged.

David M°Mahon, of the 8th Penn^a^ Reg^t^ tried at Said court on suspicion of stealing money, who were of opinion the prisoner is guilty of a breach of the 15th art., 18th sect^n^, of ye articles of War, & sentence him to receive 200 lashes, & that any private property he has shall be sold by public vendue to satisfy Margaret Legier, & put under stoppages till all ye sum he stole be satisfied, which is approved of, but 100 lashes are remitted, the rest of the sentence to be executed immediately.

W^m^ & Saml Shepardson, two pack horse drivers, were tried for neglect of duty and disobedience of orders, who plead their time of engagement was expired: The Court orders the prisoners

to return to their duty until they produce their articles of enlistment, which they are ordered to do.

The Court is dissolved.

Order of March.

1^{sty}, 250 rank & file, in 3 columns, in front, from Col. Brodhead's Brigade, who are to furnish proper advance guards.

2dly 250 rank & file to march in Indian file in one column on ye right side of the road.

3dly 250 rank & file to march in the same manner on ye left side of the road, the two last to be distinguished by the right & left wings, & the cattle, the baggage & provisions are always to march between the two last.

4^{thly} 250 rank & file to march in ye rear, & furnish proper rear guards,

5^{thly} The four Light Infantry companies to march in ye following order.

Captn Moor's company to be equally divided on ye flanks of ye advance party or 250 in front.

Capt. Sullivan's company to be divided in ye same manner on ye flanks of ye 250 in ye rear.

The two other companies to flank the two wings.

6^{thly} Captn Ferrol's company to act as a reserve.

7^{thly} The few Light dragoons we have under the command of Capt. Mills to act occasionally as ye General shall direct.

8^{thly} The fatigue-men detached from ye line are to act as Pioneers with Captn Steel, & to be under the direction of Col. Cambray.

The manner of encampment, order of battle, & other necessary movements, shall be given out in future orders, which with this shall be particularly observed by every officer & soldier in the army.

Head Quarters, Camp N° 7, Nov 11th, 1778.

Parole—Houston: Count^{m}—Honour. Officers of the Day Col. Murray, Maj. Vernon.

General Order

Since the weather will not allow the army to march this day, & the food all eat out within the lines, one half of the piquets are to guard the drivers wherever they carry the cattle & horses where

the best feeding & shelter can be got. The rest of the piquets are to guard the lines until relieved in the evening as usual.

For the good behaviour of the men, & the strict obedience to orders, which the General saw remarkable instances of yesterday, when the deer ran through the lines, & for which he publickly returns them his thanks, he allows an officer & twelve men from each line to hunt during this day for the benefit of the whole, observing that the men of each party keep within sight of each other & make report of any discovery they make.

HEAD QUARTERS, No. 7, Novr 12th 1778.

Parole—Jamaica: Counter^{ss}—Island. Officers of the day Lt. Col. Harrison, Major Scott.

The General could wish after the indulgence of yesterday that all the officers who commanded hunting parties had reported whether they made any discoveries or not, agreeably to orders.

The centre columns of the front & rear divisions are to march in double files hereafter to give more room for the cattle & baggage horses, & form the readier when required, which last the Adj^{t} General is ordered to direct & see performed properly & with expedition on all occasions by every line alternately, beginning with the front.

As the General is ever anxious for the honor as well as safety of the army of such brave men, has observed them, for want of information, to form their lines very awkwardly, & slow, which is attended with many inconveniences, especially against such enterprising & vigilant enemies as the savages are who take every advantage & strike with savage fury.

The field officer of the day shall send parties before day to waylay the road, as Col. Brodhead shall direct, while the army marches, & also see all the Light Infantry scout properly as already ordered, for some distance on all sides for skulking parties of the enemy, to bring in all straggling horses & cattle as early as possible, & report to the General when all things are ready & prepared for marching.

The General positively forbids any firing of guns without his permission, unless at any enemy.

HEAD QUARTERS, N° 9, Novr 13th 1778.

Parole—Monongahela: Count^rm—Minden. Officers of the day. Col° Evans, Maj. Taylor.

G[eneral] O[rders]

At a Brigade C[ourt] Martial from the Militia line held this day, whereof Major Henderson was President, Jacob Onge, of Col. Murray's reg^t, was tried for firing his gun contrary to orders, to which charge he plead guilty, & the Court sentenced him to receive 15 lashes on his bare back well laid on with hickory switches.

Thomas Cantwell, of Col. Evans' reg^t, tried by the same court for firing his gun when he was upon guard; but being proven to be an accident by the evidence of John Minby is ordered only to be reprimanded for his carelessness. The General highly approves the sentences of the court on these two men, & thanks the gentlemen for the attention & desire they have shewn to break the vile practise of shooting, which, beside the waste of amunition, were dangerous in our present situation. For once more the General pardons Jacob Onge the whipping, in hopes he will behave well hereafter, only to forfeit one month's pay, agreeably to the orders of the 7th inst.

The Delaware Messengers are come to camp to inform the General their warriors will join our [army] at or perhaps this side the Tuscarawas: Therefore, no parties are to go any distance ahead of the army until further orders or without leave; & every person is to be exceedingly cautious to distinguish well whether any Indians they meet are friends or enemies before they fire upon them. A white flag with fourteen red stripes is given the former for distribution, at the same time every precaution is necessary, & to be used against treachery. No man or party of men must be suffered to come in or go out of camp without the General's permission.

HEAD QUARTERS, Camp N° 11 Novr 16th 1778.

Parole—Orangeburgh: Count^m—Oliver. Field officers of the Day, Lt. Col. Murray, Maj. Vernon.

General Orders

Every person, without exception, is positively forbidden to buy or sell, or have any kind of barter or dealing whatsoever with an

Indian or Indians, without the General's special leave in writing, and any officer, soldier or any other person who buys a single article hereafter, if ever so trifling, contrary to this order, shall forfeit such article or whatever he gives for it & three months pay, besides such other punishment as a Court Martial shall inflict for a breach of orders, & every person *privy* to such purchase who does not inform against the offenders shall forfeit one month's pay, besides other punishments. One half of the value of any article or articles purchased of the Indians shall belong to the informer. This order is to be read before every company in the army, & to the staff, that no person may plead ignorance.

Detail of piquet:

	c.	sub.	s.	c.	p.
8th Regt	0	0	2	2	45
13th Regt	1	2	1	1	15

HEAD QUARTERS, Camp N° 12, Nov. 17th 1778.

Parole—Poland: Countm—Prudence. Field officers of the Day Lt. Col. Harrison, Major Scott.

General Order

The General's informed some enemy Indians have been seen near our Camp; he therefore cautions all officers to be very careful that none of their men straggle or go outside of their lines by night or day, unless they are ordered upon some duty, & call the Rolls often, & as the repeated orders issued against firing guns wantonly is so shamefully neglected, any soldier who detects another shooting a gun hereafter without leave, shall, upon conviction of the offender, be entitled to a month's pay extra, and any who will not detail or inform against such offenders shall be confined as guilty of the crime himself, & forfeit one month's pay, beside such other punishment as a Court Martial shall inflict, or if any officer commanding a party next where a shot is heard, does not immediately rush to the place, agreeably to the order of the 9th inst., to see if it is an enemy, he shall be put under an arrest for breach of orders. This the field officers of the day are to see enforced in their respective departments, & also that the centinels have no fire at night. All the officers & soldiers are desired to collect & save all the deer tails they can get & wear them

in their hats, which may induce our friend Indians to do the same & distinguish ourselves & them from our enemies.

* * * * * * * *[1]

[HEADQUARTERS, TUSCARAWAS, Nov. 21, 1778.]

General Orders.

A General Court Martial, whereof Major Vernon is appointed President, to sit this morning for the trial of Capt. Cook, of the 8th Penna Regmt, & Wm Elliott, Director Superintendant of Pack Horses, & such other prisoners as may be brought before them. As the weather begins already to set in very severe, & we've experienced the pack-horses exceedingly sorry, which will [make] our supplies uncertain, the General is sorry he is obliged to curtail the rations to one pound of flour per man until a supply arrives, & hopes the brave men of his army will content themselves with it for a short time & see the necessity & propriety of it; to make up the deficiency, each man is to be served with one pound & a half of beef pr day, which the commissaries will strictly observe till further orders.

After Orders.

As the General is desirous to have the fort finished, to try whether we can do anything against the enemy this season, he directs each regiment to take their share of it in proportion to their number of men off duty immediately, as the picquets are now cut, & he hopes they will exert themselves to shew who will be done first.

HEAD QUARTERS, TUSCARAWAS, Novr 22d 1778.

Parole—Washington: Counterna—Wilkinson. Field officer of the day to-morrow: Major Scott.

HEAD QUARTERS, TUSCARAWAS, 23d Novr 1778.

Parole—Virginia: Countna—Virtue. Field officer of the day to-morrow: Lt. Col. Harrison.

General Orders

At a General Court Martial held yesterday, whereof Major Taylor was President, Capt. Thomas Cook, 8th Pa Regt, was tried for neglect of duty & sleeping on guard at camp Beaver N° 5, the

[1] At this point in the orderly book occur the paroles, countersigns, and names of field officers for November 19–21 inclusive.

Court were unanimously of opinion that Capt[n] Cook was not guilty of the charge.

W[m] Elliott, a Superintendant or director of Pack Horses for this division, tried at the same court for neglect of duty: The Court were of opinion every blame of the delay of our army ought to have fallen upon Brady, & Elliott should have been discharged.

The General in compliance with their opinion, relieves both these gentlemen, & dissolves the Court; but at the same time, as the States have suffered so amazingly already on this Department, & every expedition & plan hitherto set on foot has fallen through by the neglect of those employed in it, which is well known to every person in this army. The General expects more care from the Directors of it in future, & desires such careless persons as M[r] Elliott will not be employed hereafter, as he finds laying the blame on any other will be deemed a sufficient excuse, & no examples can be made of such delinquents & plunderers of the public.

HEAD QUARTERS, Nov[r] 24th 1778.

Parole—Xenophon: Counter[n]—Xerxes. Field officer to-morrow: Lt. Col[o] Evans.

HEAD QUARTERS, TUSCARAWAS, Nov[r] 25th 1778

Parole—Youghagany: Counter[n]—York. Field officer to-morrow, Major Springer

General Orders.

The General is so well satisfied with Capt. Prather's conduct yesterday, & his vigilance in detecting those who so shamefully waste their amunition, & is attended with so many other inconveniences, that he (Capt. Prather) has liberty to hunt with any three he chooses, provided it is out of hearing of the piquets, that he always informs the General of it, & takes up any other he finds out without leave in writing.

HEAD QUARTERS, November 26th 1778.

Parole—Zealand: Counter[n]—Zealous. Field officer to-morrow: Col. Beeler.

General Order:

The field officers & Captains throughout the army are to attend at Head Quarters this morning by 10 o'clock.

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[1] At this point in the orderly book occur the paroles, countersigns, and names of field officers for November 27–29 inclusive.

[HEADQUARTERS, FORT LAURENS, Nov. 29, 1778.]

General Orders.

The militia have behaved so well these two days past that they are allowed this day from any fatigue duty, & to send four men from each regiment every day to hunt deer for the benefit of their respective corps, under the direction of Captain Prather, as he was the first who put a stop to the unmilitary practice of wasting amunition & firing guns wantonly. Those who work at or near the fort for the future are to lodge their arms in the bastions, & a guard of a sub. & 1 serj^{t} & 1 corporal, & 18 privates to mount there every morning for the protection of them, the provision, stores, &c., &c., as we can not be too wary of the artful enemy we have to deal with, notwithstanding their chiefs are expected to come in. It is hoped the field officer of the day [will] always see the whole line up with their arms in their hands an hour before day, & see them in good order with their accoutrements, the Rolls called at daylight, & the sentinels be always vigilant & alert, agreeably to former orders. As the General observes by cutting the timber, that the lines are mostly in the clearing, whereby the enemy have a great advantage, the Adjutant General is ordered to visit them often with the field officer of the day, & make such alterations as they find necessary, & no person is to go out or come in, without leave.

HEAD QUARTERS, November 30th 1778.

Parole—Demosthenes: Counter^{n}—Darien. Field officer tomorrow: Lt. Col. Harrison

General Order.

Captain Abraham Lincoln is appointed Deputy Commissary of Hides West of the Mountains from this day; & all other Commissaries, Butchers, & others who have had any concern with any public hides, leather, or shoes, heretofore in this Department, are to render him an account of their proceedings & the present state of that business whenever Capt. Lincoln demands it.

HEAD QUARTERS, Decr 1st 1778.

Parole—Count d'Estaing; Counter^{n}—Egypt. Field officer tomorrow: Major Scott.

General Orders.

All the field officers of the whole army, or a majority of them to which there was no objection, agreed that no person should go

home until the Indian Treaty was over, this fort completely finished & in good order, & four good block-houses made upon the road between this & Fort M°Intosh. The General agrees to these conditions, and promises that none shall be detained longer than they are complied with, that they may be all on a footing. At the same time he thinks those spirited officers who engage their men for a longer time, & in which they could expect to be of some service to their country, the General himself proposes going with the militia to Fort M°Intosh, in order to see them paid off for their service, & expects every man will appear there to be mustered for that purpose, without which they cannot receive any, & orders no person to go outside of the lines without his permission, except four hunters from each regiment by Capt. Prather's leave & under his direction, & for this the field & other officers of the day are to be accountable. The officers commanding each regiment & company are to be accountable for all the amunition their men receive at Fort M°Intosh when demanded, as it will be wanted at this post.

HEAD QUARTERS, December 2d 1778.

Parole—Finnland: Counterⁿ—Fox. Field officer to-morrow: Major Springer.

HEAD QUARTERS, FORT LAURENS, Decr 3d 1778.

Parole—Gerard: Counterⁿ—Greene. Field officer for to-morrow: Colº Evans.

General Orders.

The General promises & assures the militia, that if they exert themselves & will finish the two side rows of cabins laid out for them by Monday night with what they have already begun, they shall have but one block-house to raise upon the road to Fort M°Intosh, where they are to remember they are all to appear to be mustered before they can be paid off. Upon their engaging this, Col. Crawford is permitted to discharge such of the mutineers of Ohio County who led such a bad example to the whole army whose conduct he can depend upon for the future & will be accountable for.

HEAD QUARTERS, December 4th 1778.

Parole—Henry: Counterⁿ—Huston. Field officer to-morrow: Major Taylor.

HEAD QUARTERS, FORT LAURENS, Decr 5th 1778.

Parole—Jamestown: Counter^{n}—Ireland. Field Officer to-morrow: Col. Stevenson.

A General Court Martial from Col. Brodhead's Brigade, whereof Maj. Vernon is appointed President, to sit this morning for the trial of Serj^{t} John Aspie of the Light Dragoons for dealing with the Indians, contrary to orders, & such other prisoners as may be brought before them.

Also a General Court Martial from Col^{o} Crawford's Brigade, whereof Lieut. Col. Harrison is President, for the trial of some who are guilty of the same offence, so prejudicial to the whole army & all our concerns with the Indians, among which delinquents the General is sorry to find one who is honored with the command of a company, shewing the shameful example, that is, Capt. Pierce of Col. Stevenson's regiment.

All officers & soldiers in the line are to be served with a gill of *whiskey* each, & the General is sorry horses could not be procured to bring more of that necessary article, those who came up with the whiskey are not to have any as two kegs are missing, to make every one more careful in future of what they have in charge.

HEAD QUARTERS, Decr 7th 1778.

Parole—Lowden; Counter^{n}—Lapland. Field officer of to-morrow: Major Vernon

General Order

Two kegs of the whiskey that is for the use of the Indians, to be left with Col. Gibson; the remainder to be distributed throughout the line.

HEAD QUARTERS, Decr 8th 1778.

Parole—Madrid: Count^{n}—Minorca. Field officer to-day: Maj. Springer. Field officer to-morrow: Lt. Col. Beeler.

At a General Court Martial of the Virginia militia line, held the 6th & 7th inst., whereof Lt. Col. Morrow was President, Capt. Isaac Pierce, of Col. Stevenson's reg^{t}, was tried for dealing with Indians contrary to a positive order, to which Capt. Pierce pleads guilty, & confesses he did give an Indian a shirt & two dollars for two deer-skins, which he attempted not only to justify but applaud himself for, as well as any other person who would oppose & disobey orders given for the regulation & safety of the army unless

he or such persons approved of them, or rather if they did not suit their own interested, vicious, and selfish inclinations, with some illiberal & false aspersions upon the General. The Court taking the case of Capt. Pierce into consideration, sentence him only to make a proper acknowledgment of his fault to the General, in presence of the President of the Court, & to be then reprimanded for his breach of General Orders. As the General knows & has a high opinion of the honor [of] some of the gentlemen of this court, he is extremely sorry his duty obliges him to disapprove of this sentence, & continues Capt. Pierce under arrest. As such examples escaping with impunity would be attended with the worst consequences hereafter, & the more so as he appears to have so many advocates which sullies the general good conduct of the militia so much approved of & applauded almost on every occasion ever since they have been in this service.

At another Court Martial from the Continental Line, whereof Maj. Vernon was President, Serj^{t} John Aspy of the Light Dragoons, was tried for the same crime, dealing with the Indians contrary to a positive general order, to which he plead guilty, & confessed he gave an Indian the buttons of his coat for two fawn skins: The court sentenced him to be reduced to a private sentinel & receive 20 lashes on his bare back, but recommend him to the General's clemency on account of his former good conduct. The General highly approves the sentence, but at the request of officers, who have shewn such a regard for the essentials of the service they are engaged in, remits the whipping, although we feel the effect of so bad examples already. Serj^{t} McCormick of Capt. Ferrol's company is also discharged, & the Court dissolved.

All troops are to be served with 3 days more flour, except Col. Gibson's regiment who remain in the fort, & perhaps immediately to march without any stop or delay until they reach Fort McIntosh. All persons are allowed to go out & in without passes to-day to hunt their horses.

HEAD QUARTERS, [FORT MCINTOSH] Decr 13th 1778.
Parole—Virginia: Countersign—Williamsburg.

General Orders.

The General congratulates the troops upon their return to this post on their way home after establishing two important posts in the enemy's country, by which he hopes the safety of the frontiers

[will be] secured hereafter, by keeping the savages in awe at home, & preparing the way for further enterprises against them; and the General expects that the most of the Gentlemen here will have the honor of finishing in the spring what they have so well began under many difficulties, as the enemy had not the spirit to engage us this time near Tuscaraway as they promised.

The General returns his hearty thanks to the brave militia of Virginia for a conduct during this campaign which would do honor to the best regular troops, except a few individuals who, he hopes will stay at home the next time, & never come here again to poison & corrupt an army so determined to serve their country. That they may not be detained, he desires they may be all mustered this morning, agreeably to the Regulations of the 27th of October last; in order to enable them to make out their pay rolls properly. After which, an officer from each county may stay to receive their money.

As a farther mark of the General's satisfaction with the behavior of the militia he orders them to be served with a pint of whiskey each man, and be discharged immediately after they are mustered, although the time of very few of them is expired yet. He also releases Captn Pierce from his arrest, & pardons all those who have forfeited their pay by shooting or any other breach of orders, & requests the favor of all their field officers to dine with him to-day. This order is to be read before every company. The Adjt Genl, & Major Leete are to muster their men, as there is no Muster Master or Commissary.

FORT M°INTOSH, Decr 20th 1778.

Regimental Orders.

No person is to be absent from camp without leave from the Colonel.

A return to be made out by the officers commanding companies of the names of the non-commissioned officers & privates in the Regiment who are enlisted for the war.

DANL BRODHEAD, Col. 8th Pa Regt.

HEAD QUARTERS, Decr 21st 1778.

General Orders.

As the 8th Penna Regiment by some means is very deficient in subaltern officers to the injury of the service, the General, there-

fore, appoints Serj^{ts} John Guthrie, John Clark, Thomas Wyatt, & James Morrison to do the duty of ensigns in that regiment, and to be respected & obeyed as such.

Lieut. Lawrence Harrison with 1 serj^{t}, 1 corporal, & 15 privates of the 13th V^{a} Reg^{t}, are ordered to Fort Randolph at the Canaway to reinforce Capt. Dawson during the winter. Ensign Henry Dawson with 2 serjt^{s}, 2 corporals & 32 privates to march by land to Holliday's Cove & Fort Henry to relieve the militia at those two posts.

The Commissaries & Q^{r} Mr General's are to make out an awkward (?) accurate return of all the provisions & stores they have, & all the men employed in their different departments, & upon what terms, as soon as possible. As Whiskey grows scarce, it must be reserved for fatigue men, therefore no more is to be issued without the orders of the General.

HEAD QUARTERS, Decr 22^{d}, 1778.

Parole—[blank in Ms.]: Countersign—[blank in Ms.]

Wm Summerville is appointed Conductor of Military Stores under the direction of Lieut. Col. de Cambray, with the pay of Lieutenant since the 1st of Octr last.

Capt^{s} Ferrel & Capt. Rusk's Independent Companies are to get ready to march to Fort Pitt to-morrow morning, when Col^{o} Brodhead's regiment shall take possession of the garrison, & no soldier allowed to encamp outside of it hereafter.

HEAD QUARTERS, FORT M^{c}INTOSH, Decr 24th 1778.

A garrison Court Martial is to sit immediately, whereof Maj. Vernon is appointed President, & to consist of five members, for the trial of the prisoners in the Guard.

To-morrow the troops are to make the best appearance possible, & be excused from fatigue, & each non-commissioned officer & private is to be served with one gill of whiskey.

The Colonel expects that the greatest decency & decorum will be observed by the troops that no reflections may fall on them on account of his indulgence.

DANIEL BRODHEAD, Col. 8th P^{a} Reg^{t}

FORT M^{c}INTOSH, Decr 25th 1778.

Parole—Christmas: Countersign—New Year.

At a Court Martial held for the garrison, whereof Major Vernon was President, Jacob Kimble, John Cribs, & John Parker, of the

8th Pa Regt, were tried for neglect of duty: No evidence appearing against them, the court were of opinion they might be dismissed. The Colonel is very sorry to find that soldiers of his own regiment should be confined for neglect of duty, as he flattered himself that they were better bred, & expects to hear nothing more against their reputation, & assures them that although they may for the present escape punishment for the want of testimony, yet they may expect it whenever the crime can be proven.

At the Court, Paul Martin, of the same regt, was tried for disobedience of orders, but it appearing to the Court that he had permission from Serjt Haslet to fire his gun, contrary to General Orders, he was sentenced to receive twenty five lashes only, which punishment is remitted.

The Colonel is grieved to see so great a declination of military discipline, & that the contrary has been too little encouraged for some time past. He, however, again hopes to see his men conducting themselves as regular soldiers ought to do, & is determined to punish every delinquent. The prisoners are to be released immediately.

In future all orders for artificers & fatigues, except where a commissioned officer commands a fatigue, are to be signed by the Qr Master, before they can be countersigned by the Commanding officer.

DANIEL BRODHEAD, Col. 8th Pa Regt

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[HEADQUARTERS, FORT MCINTOSH, Dec. 30, 1778.]

A Regimental Court Martial is to sit to-day for the trial of John O'Neal, a prisoner in the Guard House: The Court to be composed of Capt. Carnahan, President, & two subalterns members.

DANIEL BRODHEAD, Col. 8th Pa Regt

HEAD QUARTERS, FORT MCINTOSH, Decr 31st 1778.

Parole—New Year: Countersign—Old Year.

At a Regimental Court Martial, whereof Captain Carnahan was President, John O'Neal, a private in the 8th Pa Regt, was tried for extorting his brother soldier an immoderate price for making a pair of breeches; but it appearing to the Court in the fullest manner, that the matter alledged was groundless & false, he was ac-

[1] At this point in the orderly book occur the paroles and countersigns for December 26–30 inclusive.

quitted by the unanimous opinion of the Court. The prisoner is, therefore, ordered to be released, & the Court dissolved.

To-morrow being New Years day, each non-commissioned officer & soldier is to be served with half a pint of whiskey, but only half the quantity to be issued in the morning, & the other half in the evening.

* * * * * * * *[1]

[FORT MCINTOSH, Jan. 22, 1779.]

The Colonel requests the favor of the officers to examine the chimneys of the barracks in which their respective companies are quartered, & oblige the soldiers to sweep them clean at least once every week, & where they are not well secured with mortar, oblige the soldiers to secure them from fire by the best method in their power.

A Court Martial to be composed of one Captain & two subalterns is to sit immediately for the trial of the prisoners in the Guard House, & the witnesses & parties are to attend at the Quarters of Capt. Jas. Carnahan, who is appointed President of the Court.

DANIEL BRODHEAD, Col. 8th Pa Regt

* * * * * * * *[2]

[FORT MCINTOSH, Jan. 26, 1779.]

A Court Martial to consist of one captain, & two subs., to set immediately, for the trial of the tailors of the 8th Pa Regt, for burning two tents, & they are ordered to be immediately confined for that purpose.

FORT M°INTOSH, January 27th 1779.

Parole—Mingo: Countersign—Munsy.

At a Regimental Court Martial, whereof Capt. Carnahan was President, John O'Neal & Saml Mitchell, soldiers in the same regt, were tried for negligence & burning two tents, the property of the United States, & sentenced to receive each 39 lashes—& to be put under stoppages not exceeding half their pay until the tents are paid for.

The Colonel thinks it right that punishments of this kind should be inflicted on all soldiers who are so careless of public property, & particularly when the delinquents have not otherwise obtained a fair character, & therefore approves the sentence

[1] At this point in the orderly book occur the paroles and countersigns from January 1–22 inclusive.

[2] At this point in the orderly book occur the paroles and countersigns for January 23–26 inclusive.

of the Court Martial, & directs it to be put in execution this evening at Retreat beating.

The A. Q^r^ Master is to estimate the value of the tents, & the Captain of the company to which they belong will direct the paymaster to make the stoppages. The Court is dissolved.

* * * * * * * *[1]

[FORT MCINTOSH, Feb. 1, 1779.]

Regimental Orders.

Neither officer nor soldier is to be absent from his quarters to the distance of one quarter of a mile, without leave in writing from the commanding officer.

In future the gates are to be locked immediately after sun-set, & taptoo beat punctually at 8 o'clock, after which every person in and about the garrison is to observe silence.

The officers are requested to attend the parade, & each morning examine the men's arms & accoutrements & see them equipt for action.

The enemy Indians have discovered the token used to distinguish the friendly Indians. They are, therefore, in future to wear a small piece of white flannel on their foreheads, and a bucks tail on the end of their wiping-sticks, which, on discovery of our men they are gradually to raise & lower three different times, of which all persons concerned are to take notice & treat them accordingly.

Non-commissioned officers & soldiers are not to be absent from the Block house or out-guards to the distance of three hundred yards without leave in writing from the officer or non-commissioned officer where no commissioned officer is present commanding such guard.

No person is to ease himself within one hundred yards of the fort, on pain of immediate punishment. The firing of three guns is to be considered as an alarm, upon hearing which the troops are immediately to parade & wait for orders, & those in the out-huts are to come into the fort when the gates are to be locked & the keys delivered into the hands of the commanding officer as usual.

The sentries on hearing a gun fired are immediately to call the serj^t^ of the guard & inform him of it, so that the commanding officer may be made acquainted with it.

[1] At this point in the orderly book occur the paroles and countersigns for January 28–February 1 inclusive.

A Court Martial to consist of one captain & two subs. is to sit immediately for the trial of the prisoners in the guard house, when the witnesses are to attend.

Proceedings of a Court Martial of the 8th Penna Regiment, held at Fort M°Intosh, Feb. 1st, 1779.

Capt. Jas Carnahan, President.

Captain Finley (Members) Ensn Guthrie.

Thos Murray, soldier in Capt. Clark's company, tried for neglect of duty: The prisoner pleads not guilty. The Court having considered the evidence for & against the prisoner, & are of opinion he is guilty, & sentence him to ride ten minutes on the wooden horse on the regimental parade.

Isaac Miller, soldier in the late Capt. Jack's company, tried for the same crime—The Court having considered the evidence for & against the prisoner, are of opinion he is not guilty of the charge.

The Colonel approves the proceedings of the Court Martial, & the sentence against Murray is to be executed immediately, & Miller is to be released.

* * * * * * * *[1]

[Fort McIntosh, Feb. 4, 1779.]

A Court Martial to consist of one captain & two subs. to sit immediately for the trial of the prisoners in the guard-house, where the witnesses are to attend.

* * * * * * * *[2]

[Fort McIntosh, Feb. 18, 1779.]

Guards & fatigues are to be served with an allowance of one gill of spirits pr day, until further orders, but artificers are to draw no more than the usual rations of soldiers until a plentiful supply of provision arrives.

The lard lately arrived is intended only as an addition to the rations of officers & soldiers, & is not to be considered as a part of their rations. The Colonel orders that one pound of lard be issued to each mess consisting of six men in addition to their

[1] At this point in the orderly book occur the paroles and countersigns for February 2–4 inclusive.

[2] At this point in the orderly book occur the paroles and countersigns for February 5–18 inclusive.

rations for four days, & one half pound p^{r} week to each officer in the line & staff.

DANIEL BRODHEAD, Col. 8th P^{a} Reg^{t}

* * * * * * * *[1]

[FORT MCINTOSH, Feb. 21, 1779.]

A regimental Court Martial is to sit immediately for the trial of Serj^{t} Jervice, of the 8th P^{a} Regt.—Lt. Peterson is appointed President, no captain being present.

Proceedings of a Regimental Court Martial held at Fort McIntosh, Feb. 21st 1779. Serj^{t} Jervice tried for neglect of duty: The Court is of opinion that the prisoner [is guilty] of the charge against him, & sentence him to be reduced to the ranks—& approved by the Colonel.

* * * * * * * *[2]

[FORT MCINTOSH, Feb. 24, 1779.]

Garrison Orders.

The troops are to be completed to thirty rounds p^{r} man, therefore the officers are requested to make returns of the quantity of amunition remaining with their company, as near as possible, & the quantity wanting to complete them. Each soldier is to have two good flints, which must likewise be returned, & on receipt of the amunition the officers will pass their receipt to the Commissary of Military Stores for the same, & be particularly careful not to suffer it to be imprudently expended or wasted but to make the soldiers accountable for their amunition.

Any fatigues wanting for the Q^{r} Mrs Department, which includes the forage Department, are to be ordered by the Adjutant upon application from the Q^{r} Master who is to see that the fatigues applied for in his Department are properly & diligently employed —& all orders for liquors for fatigues signed by the Quarter Master shall be sufficient, but artificers, waggoners & others, who are allowed extraordinary pay, are not to be served with liquor except on a special order from the commanding officer.

A Musket is to be fired every morning at break of day, at which time the Revelié is to be beaten, & all the troops to appear on the parade with their arms & accoutrements, when the Major will

[1] At this point in the orderly book occur the paroles and countersigns for February 19–21 inclusive.

[2] At this point in the orderly book occur the paroles and countersigns for February 22–24 inclusive.

form them into four grand divisions, each of which grand division is to have a proportion of officers & a bastion assigned to each of them

* * * * * * * *[1]

[FORT MCINTOSH, Feb. 28, 1779.]

A Regimental Court Martial is to sit immediately for the trial of the prisoners in the Guard House, confined for disobedience of orders—Major Vernon President, & two subalterns are to compose this court.

All soldiers & others who may hereafter discover canoes or other craft lodged on this shore at any other place than the boat yard, are to give immediate information of it to a commissioned officer, on pain of immediate punishment.

The articles of war relative to mutiny & desertion are to be read to the troops by the Adjutant twice a week on Mondays & Thursdays.

DANIEL BRODHEAD, Col. 8th Pa Regt

Proceedings of a Regimental Court Martial, held at Fort M°Intosh, by order of Col. Brodhead, for the trial of the prisoners now in the guard house, whereof Major Vernon is appointed President,

Ens[a] Ward (Members) Ens[a] Clark

The Court having met, proceeded to the trial of John M°Pherson, Rich[d] Richardson, Timothy Crowley, Timothy Rourk, & John Faughey, all confined for disobedience of orders, & laying out of the garrison without their arms, & without leave from the Commanding Officer, the prisoners plead not guilty of disobedience of orders, but guilty of laying out of the garrison without their arms & without leave, & in their defence plead ignorance of any orders to the contrary, & further say it was not with any ill design that they lay out.

The Court having maturely considered the prisoners' defence are of opinion that they are not guilty of disobedience of orders, but guilty of laying out of the garrison, & that they may be released from their confinement & join their respective companies. The judgment of the Court is approved by Col. Brodhead.

[1] At this point in the orderly book occur the paroles and countersigns for February 25–28 inclusive.

FORT M°INTOSH, March 1st 1779.

Parole—Board: Countersign—War.

FORT M°INTOSH, March 2d, 1779.

Parole—Wyondochalend: Countersign—Wyondot.

No person whatever will be permitted to remain out of the fort after night, therefore tents are to be pitched within the fort for such as can not be otherwise accommodated: All persons belonging to this garrison are enjoined to treat the Indian Messengers with the greatest civility. In future no person, whether officer or soldier is to be permitted to ask the messengers any questions without leave from the Commanding Officer, on pain of being punished with the utmost rigor of the military law.

* * * * * * * *[1]

[FORT MCINTOSH, Mar. 8, 1779.]

A Regimental Court Martial is to sit at 9 o'clock this morning for the trial of the prisoners confined for crimes, which come under their cognizance, & as there is no captain present, Lieut. Peterson is appointed President of this Court.

The Court having met, agreeably to orders, proceeded to the trial of Isaac Atkins, soldier in the 8th Pa Regt, accused of theft—the prisoner pleads guilty. The Court having duly considered the charge against said Atkins, sentence him to receive fifty lashes. The Sentence is approved by the Commanding Officer.

FORT M°INTOSH, March 9th 1779.

Parole—Lake Sinclair: Countersign—Creek.

FORT M°INTOSH, March 10th 1779.

Parole—Humpton: Countersign—Craig.

A garrison Court Martial, to consist of five members, whereof Capta Lt Brady is appointed President is to sit immediately for the trial of David Johnston, a prisoner in the Guard House.

The Colonel has been informed that some of the men, under pretence of having arms which were their own property, have presumed to sell them. He strictly forbids the like practice in future until his consent is had for that purpose, after proof that the arms offered for sale are private property.

Proceedings of a Garrison Court Martial held at Fort M°Intosh

[1] At this point in the orderly book occur the paroles and countersigns for March 3–8 inclusive.

for the trial of David Johnston, whereof Captn Lt Brady was president—

Lt Hardin, Ensign Reid, Lt. Thomas, Ens. Ward, Ens. Wyatt Members.

The Court having met according to appointment, proceeded to the trial of the prisoner. The court having maturely considered the prisoner's plea & defence, are of opinion he may be acquitted, but that he may be reprimanded.

The sentence is approved by the Command^{g} officer.

FORT M^{c}INTOSH, March 11th 1779.

Parole—Shandy: Countersign—Trem.

It is not without real concern that the Colonel finds himself under the disagreeable necessity of reducing the rations at this garrison to a pound of beef & a pound of flour to the troops, & to a pound & a quarter of last to the artificers. He hopes, however, that some substitute will be thought of to make up the deficiency of the rations, & he has the pleasure to assure the troops that he hopes the present scarcity will be only temporary. Under these circumstances every good man will submit to a small inconvenience with cheerfulness for the good of his country, & the Colonel expects he shall not be put to the blush on account of any murmuring of troops. It has constantly been his pride to praise as well as command.

FORT M^{c}INTOSH, March 12th 1779.

Parole—Patterson: Countersign—Glover.

F^{t} M^{c}INTOSH, March 13th 1779.

Parole—Proctor: Countersign—Scammell.

A regimental Court Martial is to sit immediately for the trial of Michael Kildea, & Timothy Swan, two soldiers of the 8th P^{a} Reg^{t}, & confined in the Guard House, the Court is to consist of five members—& no Captain being present for this tour of duty, Lieut. Peterson is appointed President.

At a Regimental Court Martial held this morning, whereof Lieut. Peterson was President, Ja^{s} Maxwell, a soldier of the 8th P^{a} Reg^{t} was tried for refusing his duty, & sentenced by the Court to ride the wooden horse for ten minutes with a musket tied to each of his feet. Timothy Swan, a soldier in the same reg^{t}, was likewise tried for neglect of duty, & acquitted. Mich^{l} Kildea, a soldier in the same reg^{t} was tried by the same court & found

guilty of theft—Wherefore he is sentenced to receive sixty lashes, & be put under stoppages until he has paid for an axe belonging to the United States.

The Colonel approves the sentences of the Court. Those against Maxwell & Kildea are to be put in execution this evening at Retreat beating, & Swan is released from his confinement.

DANIEL BRODHEAD, Col. 8th Pa Regt

* * * * * * * *[1]

[FORT MCINTOSH, Mar. 16, 1779.]

At a general Court Martial, whereof Major Taylor is appointed President, is ordered to sit immediately for the trial of the prisoners in the guard house; the President may appoint any person who is qualified to act as Judge Advocate.

Lt. Col. Campbell is requested to see every necessary got ready for the expedition to Tuscarawas as soon as possible, as the General expects all the militia & horses over the river this day, & intends to march to-morrow. The Colonel is to get returns from the several Departments of the staff, & get every assistance he thinks necessary for them.

Maj. Vernon, with 3 captains, 6 subalterns, 9 serjeants, & 150 rank & file of the 8th Penna Regt to hold themselves in readiness to relieve the garrison of Ft Laurens.

And Col. Brodhead is requested to have all the remainder of his own regiment, & other continental troops here that are able to march to be in readiness also on an hour's notice.

After Orders. At a General Court Martial held in the garrison this day, agreeably to the orders of this morning, whereof Major Taylor was President, Edward Stoker, Jeremiah Archer, Chr Bodkin, Thomas Kelly, & Edwd M'Donough, of the 13th Va Regt, were tried for desertion, & plead guilty & sentenced to receive one hundred lashes each. Robt Kennedy late of Capta Ferrel's company, was tried for desertion & theft & pleads guilty: The Court sentence him to receive 100 lashes for the desertion & 100 lashes for the theft, & 20 dollars stopped out of his wages for the expense of taking him up.

Wm M'Kay, of the 8th Pa Regt, tried for sleeping on his post, which he confesses, & is sentenced to receive 50 lashes. The General approves the whole sentence of the Court, & orders them

[1] At this point in the orderly book occur the paroles and countersigns for March 14–16 inclusive.

to be put in execution this evening at Roll call, & the prisoners released in the morning.

W^m^ M^c^Kay's punishment is remitted by the General at the recommendation of the Court & upon account of his former good behavior, expecting he will be more careful hereafter.

The Court is dissolved.

HEAD QUARTERS, F^t^ M^c^INTOSH, March 17th 1779.

Parole—Gibson: Countersign—Killbuck.

As the horses have not come yet, the General expects every department will have all things belonging to each the better prepared & in order for the march, which is to be to-morrow morning at troop-beating without fail: Every man is to carry six days provisions, which is to be issued this day, & the officers to be very careful how it is used that it may last for that time.

The Officers commanding each corps of militia are to receive amunition immediately to the amount of half a pound of powder & one pound of lead p^r^ man, agreeably to the return they are ordered to make to Col^o^ Crawford, who is to report to the General the number of militia come over the river, & the horses they have entered in the service under the care of Mr Joseph Brady.

* * * * * * * *[1]

[FORT LAURENS, Mar. 25, 1779.]

Garrison Orders.

The Detachment is to be divided into four divisions, with an officer to each division, & the officers are to know their alarm posts. The Revelie is to beat at break of day, & the officers with their divisions are to repair to their respective alarm posts, where they are to remain till sun-rise. The gates are to be shut immediately after retreat beating, & not to be opened until troop-beating.

No officer nor soldier is to go more than one hundred yards from the garrison without leave from the commanding officer. The Deputy Barrack Master is to visit the soldiers' barracks daily & see that they are clean & in good order.

* * * * * * * *[2]

[1] At this point in the orderly book occur the paroles and countersigns for March 23–25 inclusive.

[2] At this point in the orderly book occur the paroles and countersigns for March 26–29 inclusive.

[FORT LAURENS, Mar. 29, 1779.]

Garrison Orders.

The men's arms & amunition are to be examined this evening at retreat-beating, & all damaged amunition is to be taken into the store, & fresh amunition to be given out in the place of the damaged.

* * * * * * * *[1]

[FORT LAURENS, April 8, 1779.]

The Major positively forbids any firing of guns, without his permission, unless at an enemy.

The gates to be shut at sun-set & not to be opened till next morning at 8 o'clock, without leave from the commanding officer. No person to be suffered to come in or goe out of the garrison without leave from the commanding officer excepting those who belong to it.

* * * * * * * *[2]

[Now follow entries in another handwriting. L. C. D.]

HEAD QUARTERS, PITTSBURGH, June 26th 1779.

Parole [blank in Ms.]: Countersign [blank in Ms.]

As there is a great probability that grain of every kind may be had at a lower rate than it is at present, the Commandant desires that no persons do purchase grain for the use of the army in this Department until further orders, & as it was observed that grain was raised last fall on account of too many persons being employed in ye purchase, the Commandant desires, therefore, that no grain, except wheat [be] purchased by any person but the Forage Master, & his assistant. The light troops are to be in constant readiness to march at a moment's warning.

D. B. Col. Comd^t^

HEAD QUARTERS, PITTSBURGH, July 12th 1779.

Parole—Exeter: Countersign—Buck.

Whereas, a great number of boat builders have been sent to this District that could [not?] be employed for want of materials, being

[1] At this point in the orderly book occur the paroles and countersigns for March 30–April 7 inclusive.

[2] At this point in the orderly book occur the paroles and countersigns for April 9–May 12 inclusive.

frequently provided; and as they may be wanted at Susquehannah or Philadelphia, therefore Captain Brewster & thirty one men are ordered to Susquehanna, but sh[d] there be no occasion for their service there, they are immediately to proceed to Philadelphia, & Capt. Brewster will inform the Board of War of his return that he & his company may be employed to the advantage of the States: All Quarter Masters are requested to afford Capt. Brewster proper allowance to expedite his march to the interior part of the country.

DANIEL BRODHEAD,
Col. Comd[g] W[estern] Dep[t]

The Commandant having rec[d] information that some person maliciously fired a gun at one of the friendly Delawares as he was swimming over the river Alleghany, within sight of the fort; & being desirous of making an example of such evil disposed persons, he hereby offers a reward of eighty dollars to any person or persons who shall give information of the offender so that he may be brought to trial.

July 29th 1779

Parole—Dishonor: Countersign—Army.[1]

MISCELLANEOUS PARTICIPANTS[2]

Amberson, William (2DD344)
Anderson, George (19S238–39)
Argubrite, Jacob (2U55)
Barr, Samuel (30J98)
Bay, Capt.—(30J98)
Beeler, Jacob (2DD441)
Beeler, Col. Joseph (11E72, 30J97, 2S322)
Beeler Junior, Lieut. Joseph (7NN14)
Bell, Capt. Robert (2U54)
Bevington, Thomas (12E185)
Blackford, Zephaniah (1SS119, 143, 158)
Brenton (Brinton), Maj. James (3S337, 2U56)

[1] There are no further entries in the orderly book until the one for Jan. 8, 1780.

[2] The following list contains the names found in the Draper Mss. of those who took part in the campaigns of 1778 and 1779, either as regulars or as militia. The notations in parentheses following the names are the pressmark references to the places where the names are to be found in the Draper Mss.

Brown, James (2U67)
Byerly, Jacob (9E143)
Carmack, Capt. John (2DD441)
Carns, Godfrey (2DD347)
Carrel, David (30J97)
Carringer, Martin (2DD347)
Clark, James (1SS151)
Craven, Capt. Robert (2U55, 10DD49)
Crawford, William, of Green County (3S334, 6NN71)
Cresap, Daniel (7NN14)
Crow, Capt. John (2U56, 7NN14)
Cunningham, Robert (2U67)
Davis, Ensign Joseph (2U54)
Dawson, Ensign Henry (1SS143, 151, 158)
Dawson, John (2DD365)
Dunlevy, Francis (7NN14)
Edgar, John (9E142)
Ellis, Joseph (18J102)
Ellis, Capt. Nathan (2U56, 7NN14)
Ellis, Samuel (2DD363)
Evans, Col. John (11E72, 2U56, 2DD352)
Farlan, Thomas (2U57)
Fitzpatrick, James (18J102)
Fleming, Lewis (2U54)
Fleming, Peter (6NN33)
Fouts, Andrew (1SS119)
Harrison, Col. Benjamin, of Rockingham County, Va. (8ZZ68)
Harrison, Lieut. John (3S53)
Hoagland, Derick (1SS119)
Karr, Matthew (1SS119, 143)
Kelsey, Thomas (3BB84)
Lincoln, Capt. Abraham (10DD49)
Lingo, Henry (2DD347)
Link, Jacob (6E85)
Loeffler, Capt. Jacob (6E85, 1SS119)
Lyon, Thomas (12E185)
McColloch, John (1SS143)
McColloch, Samuel (11E72, 1SS158)
McGuire, Francis (16S298)
McGuire, William (18J102)
McReynolds, Capt.—(11C41)
Mason, Capt. John (2U54)

Mefford, George (19S129)
Mentor, Capt. John (2U54)
Miller, Frederick (7NN14)
Moore, Capt. Thomas (6NN33)
Mounts, Col. Providence (2U54)
Mounts, Thomas (2U54)
Nall, Maj.—(2U55)
Parchment, Peter (3S59, 60, 113, 4S4, 15S172, 2DD347)
Parsons, Baldwin (2U67)
Parsons, James (2U67)
Patton, Capt. Henry (2U57)
Paul, Lieut. James (30J76, 2U54)
Paul Junior,—(2U54)
Poe, Andrew (8S115)
Richardson, George (11C41)
Robinson, Andrew (1SS151)
Robinson, Charles (5NN16)
Seamon, Jonah (1SS119, 158)
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Smith, Jacob (8NN84)
Springer, Lieut. Zadock (11E72, 2U56, 7NN14)
Steel, Maj.—(11E72)
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Stephenson, Col. John (11E72, 3S4, 32, 320–22)
Stokeley, Thomas (31J63)
Stroup, Conrad (1SS118, 143)
Swagler, Jacob (1SS158)
Swearingen, Capt. Andrew (2U56, 2DD352, 361–62)
Taylor, Isaac (1SS119, 158)
Taylor, Capt. John (2U57)
Thompson, Col. William (2U57)
Truby, Capt. Christopher (2E79)
Vallandigham, George (8S115, 7NN14)
Wallace, Capt. James (2U54)
Weighley, Isaac (2E79)
Whaley, Benjamin (30J89)
White, Jacob (11E66, 3S320, 322, 2U56)
Widener, Michael (10DD49)
Williamson, Ensign Samuel (1SS118)
Wingfield, Enoch (30J89)
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